XEROX

Xerox University Microfilms
Ann Arbor, Michigan 48106

WESTERN AMERICANA

Reproduced from the original in the collection of
THE UNIVERSITY OF ILLINOIS LIBRARIES

DR. CUTLER'S RESIDENCE AND CHURCH, HAMILTON, MASS.

LIFE

JOURNALS AND CORRESPONDENCE

OF

Rev. Manasseh Cutler, LL.D.

BY HIS GRANDCHILDREN

WILLIAM PARKER CUTLER
AND
JULIA PERKINS CUTLER

VOLUME II

CINCINNATI
ROBERT CLARKE & CO
1888

UNIVERSITY OF
LIBRARY
ILLINOIS.

977.1
C992 Kc
v.2

UNIVERSITY OF
LIBRARY
ILLINOIS.

CONTENTS.

CHAPTER XIII.

REV. DANIEL STORY—LETTERS TO GENERAL PUTNAM—DR. CUTLER'S CHARGE AT MR. STORY'S ORDINATION—OHIO UNIVERSITY—DIARY, 1800 1

CHAPTER XIV.

FIRST SESSION IN CONGRESS—LETTERS TO HIS FAMILY AND DR. DANA FROM WASHINGTON—VISITS MT. VERNON—DEBATE ON JUDICIARY BILL 43

CHAPTER XV.

FIRST AND SECOND SESSIONS IN CONGRESS—LETTERS TO HIS FAMILY, MAJOR BURNHAM, DR. DANA, FROM WASHINGTON—DIARY FOR 1802, 1803—LETTER FROM REV. DR. MORSE 89

CHAPTER XVI.

THIRD SESSION IN CONGRESS—DIARY, 1803—LETTERS TO HIS FAMILY FROM WASHINGTON—DIARY, 1804—LETTERS TO HIS FAMILY AND DR. DANA—IMPEACHMENT OF JUDGE CHASE—DIARY, 1804 134

CHAPTER XVII.

FOURTH SESSION IN CONGRESS—DIARY, 1804—LETTER FROM THOS. CUSHING—LETTERS TO HIS FAMILY—DIARY, 1805—TRIAL OF JUDGE CHASE—LETTERS 171

CHAPTER XVIII.

CORRESPONDENCE WITH DR. STILES, PROFESSOR WIGGLESWORTH, GENERAL LINCOLN 195

CHAPTER XIX.

CORRESPONDENCE WITH DR. BELKNAP 220

230079

AUG 14 '26 B19

CHAPTER XX.

Correspondence with Dr. Stokes, Mrs. Merry, Mr. Vaughan, Baron Hermelin, Dr. Barton, Dr. Muhlenberg, Mr. Stickney, Count Castiglioni, Mr. Paykull, Dr. Swartz, Hon. John Davis, Lord Valentia, Judge Parsons, Prof. C. F. Rafinesque, Timothy Pickering, Ephraim Cutler.......... 259

CHAPTER XXI.

Letters from W. D. Peck, Benjamin Tallmadge, Timothy Pickering, Samuel Taggart, Rufus Putnam—Diaries for 1806 to 1816—Charge at Ordination of Rev. Mr. Kimball—Reminiscences by Mrs. Wheeler, Allen Dodge, Dr. Brown, Mr. Cheever—Sunday School—Funeral Sermon—Obituary Notices.......... 324

APPENDIX A.

Letter From General Rufus Putnam to Mr. Fisher Ames, 1790—Letter from Fisher Ames to General Rufus Putnam.......... 373

APPENDIX B.

Letter from General Washington to Benjamin Harrison, Governor of Virginia.......... 385

APPENDIX C.

An Explanation of the Map which Delineates that Part of the Federal Lands Comprehended between Pennsylvania West Line, the Rivers Ohio and Scioto, and Lake Erie; Confirmed to the United States by Sundry Tribes of Indians, in the Treaties of 1784 and 1786, and Now Ready for Settlement. Salem: Printed by Dabney and Cushing, MDCCLXXXVII.... 393

APPENDIX D.

The Ordinance of 1787, and its History, by Peter Force—Ordinance for Sale of Lands in the North-western Territory—Ordinance for Ascertaining the Mode of Disposing of Lands in the Western Territory.......... 407

APPENDIX E.

Sermon Preached by Dr. Cutler at Campus Martius, Marietta, North-west Territory, August 24, 1788—Century Discourse, Delivered in Hamilton, Mass., October 27, 1814.......... 439

UNIVERSITY OF
LIBRARY
ILLINOIS.

LIFE OF REV. MANASSEH CUTLER.

CHAPTER XIII.

Rev. Daniel Story—Letters to General Putnam—Dr. Cutler's Charge at Mr. Story's Ordination—Ohio University—Diary, 1800.

The Rev. Daniel Story, who left Dr. Cutler's house in November, 1788, to go as a religious teacher to the settlement at Marietta, where he arrived in March, 1789, had cheerfully borne the privations and perils of pioneer life. He had encountered a year of famine and the dangers of nearly five years of Indian warfare, faithfully preaching the Gospel, when his hearers came to attend the Sabbath services armed with their rifles; and he went to the outposts, Belpre and Waterford, when a military guard was necessary for his protection. On the return of peace, he gathered together those to whom the Word was precious, and formed them into a Church of Christ, at Marietta, the first Congregational Church ever established west of the Alleghany Mountains. Then, after more than eight years of arduous missionary labor, he went back to Massachusetts. A call from the people who had so long enjoyed his ministrations, and still earnestly desired to have them continued, followed him to his eastern home:

Feb. 6, 1798.

The Church of Christ, consisting of members residing at Marietta and its vicinity, to our beloved Brother, Daniel Story, sendeth greeting:

It has given us much satisfaction to have the Subscribers to the Association for the support of Teachers of Religion and Morality in these settlements concur with us in our choice and election of *you* to the office of Pastor of the Church, and the temporal provision which they have made for your support, and of which you will be informed by the Trustees of the Association.

The Church and People being thus united in their call and election of you to the work of the ministry among us, we hope and trust that our application will not be in vain; that our Unanimity in the Invitation, the great need there is of ministerial Labor in this part of the harvest, will overcome all discouragements that may be in your mind, and that you will soon return an answer in the affirmative.

We are, in the Fellowship of the Gospel, and in the name and behalf of the Church,
RUFUS PUTNAM,
JOSIAH HART,
ABNER LORD,
Committee.

The amount of salary offered to Mr. Story by the Trustees of the Association (Rufus Putnam, Israel Putnam, and Robert Oliver) was three hundred dollars annually, to be paid "while you shall continue to carry on the work of the ministry with this Church and people. Seventy-five dollars quarter-yearly."

Mr. Story's return to his post in the wilderness involved much self-denial. In his answer to the call, he says: "The sum offered for my support is, perhaps, as much as your present circumstances will authorize; but it is not more than half the sum that I can receive in this country as a candidate, with prospects of a permanent support still more advantageous. Vacancies are numerous, and Candidates for the Gospel Ministry are scarce.

"In addition to this, I am in a settled country, enjoying various means of Improvement, besides Books, to all kinds of which I have free access. I am surrounded by my connections, as well as my Fathers and Brethren in the Ministry, whose counsel, interviews, and remarks are both pleasing and improving. My Relations, averse to a separation perhaps forever, used every argument to dissuade me from returning. These considerations have had their effect upon my mind.

"But, on the other hand, influenced by a strong attachment to my Brethren and Friends in the Western Country, which I believe to be reciprocal, taking into view your peculiar situation, entertaining a hope that I shall be more extensively useful to the cause of religion, and expecting finally to be placed in an agreeable situation with respect to support, I feel disposed to accept your call."

April 12, 1798, Dr. Cutler wrote to Judge Putnam on this subject. From a draft of this letter some extracts are here given: "By my last, you will be informed of the delivery of your letter to Mr. Story. Since that time, we have had repeated conversations on the subject of your invitation. He has now concluded to give his answer in the affirmative. His attachment to you, to the people who have invited him, and to the Country, you may be assured, has induced him to make no small sacrifices in giving up his prospects here. In Beverly, where he is now preaching, and wherever he has preached in this vicinity, he has rendered himself very acceptable to the people. The present scarcity of Candidates heightens the probability that he might have been invited to settle in some of our best Congregations, where much larger salaries are given than you have offered. Those now given are from four hundred to a thousand dollars per annum, and frequently some other perquisites besides.

"I can in truth declare I know of no subject which lies with so much weight upon my mind as that your settlement may be furnished with a number of able and faithful ministers, that foundations may be early laid for Congregational Churches and Societies. I conceive their form of government and discipline to be congenial to the true spirit of liberty, and more conducive to the civil and religious interests of the people than any other in the Christian world. The happy effects have long been experienced in every part of New England, and which, in my opinion, gives them many advantages above any other part of the Union. Convinced I am that religious establishments and social worship are essentially necessary, in a civil view, to the well-being of society, especially under a free government, if no regard is had to the interesting concerns of a future world. You can not be too solicitous to have them early established in your rising settlement.

"You will at once see the sacrifices Mr. Story must make in returning to you. I most sincerely congratulate you on his determination to do so. May it endear him to you, and may you regard him not only for his amiable personal qualities, but for his work's sake. And may he prove a great blessing to rising Churches, to Christian Societies, and to the cause and interests of our blessed Lord and Redeemer."

May 15, 1798. The Church in Marietta and vicinity "voted unanimously that the Rev. Manasseh Cutler be and he is hereby appointed Agent for and in behalf of this Church, to join with Mr. Story, the Pastor elect, in convening an Ecclesiastical Council for the purpose of ordaining the Pastor elect. And that Dr. Cutler represent this Church in all matters necessary for having the said ordination effected. Attest: Rufus Putnam, Clerk." The Trustees of the Association for the support of Teachers of Religion and Morality, at Marietta, also appointed Dr. Cutler their Agent to represent them in all matters pertaining to Mr. Story's ordination, of which event the following letter gives a detailed account:

[*To General Putnam.*]

HAMILTON, *Oct.* 23, 1798.

Dear Sir:—Expecting that Mr. Story would return soon after his ordination, I delayed writing by the Post. But the sickness at Philadelphia, and the printing the ordination Sermon, which is now just out of press, has detained him. He is now with me, and proposes to set out for Boston next Monday, where he is obliged to tarry a few days, and then will go on for Marietta. He has informed you of his ordination on the 15th of August. For the honor of our company and the Western Territory, we thought it best to call a respectable council. We jointly addressed letters missive to eleven churches, all of whom complied, and the council was formed at my house, at ten in the morning. The council consisted of gentlemen of as much respectability as, perhaps, was ever convened in an Ecclesiastical council in the county of Essex. They expressed much satisfaction with the regularity of the proceedings of the church and association at Marietta. We dined at half past twelve, and at two the procession was formed, and we walked to the Meeting House through a crowd of spectators. Though the day was somewhat rainy, a very large concourse of people were collected. Some hundreds, I believe, were unable to get into the Meeting House. To prevent accident, the galleries were previously secured by supporters; and to prevent disorder, I had requested the constables to attend, with their staves of office. The solemnity was introduced and closed with anthems adapted to the occasion. Through the whole of the service there was the most perfect order and decorum. Never have I seen so large an assembly preserve through the whole of the exercises so profound a solemnity. We have had the pleasure to hear that the audience were much pleased and gratified. I thought it best that there should be a formal result of council, though not common at ordinations, which was done, and is printed, together with the charge and Right Hand of Fellowship, and annexed to the sermon. The council ordered the several parts as follows: Rev. Dr. Barnard, of Salem, introductory prayer; Rev. Mr. Isaac Story preached; Rev. Mr. Forbes, the ordaining prayer; the charge was assigned to me; Right Hand of Fellowship, Rev. Mr. Wadsworth, of Danvers; and concluding prayer, Rev. Mr. Dana, of Ipswich. It was my expectation that the company at my house would be large, but it was greater than I had contemplated, though our provision was sufficient. We dined upward of an hundred, and a very large number at tea. It is but doing justice to our people to inform you that general provision was made for company, and many of the inhabitants of the town entertained as large numbers as they, probably, would have done if it had been an ordination of their own.

. . . We have met with great difficulty in getting a candidate. Several that seemed inclined to go have disappointed us. Soon after the ordination, Mr. Perkins (son of Dr. Perkins, of Plainfield, in Connecticut) came to my house, and agreed to accept your terms. Mr. Story being then with us, we agreed with him that he should go on to Connecticut, and obtain ordination at large, and be ready to go on with Mr. Story, who was to call upon him. But, a little time after, he wrote us that his health was such that he thought he should not be able to go, and desired that we would engage somebody else. Since that time we have met with no other candidate disposed to go, and had very much given up the hope of obtaining one. Early yesterday morning Mr. Perkins came to my house, and finding no one was engaged, proposed to go, and appeared much engaged. I mentioned, as I had done before, the necessity of his receiving ordination, which I conceived to be of great importance to the settlement there, as installations and ordinations might then be performed in the country. He assured me that he should not be willing to go unless he was ordained, as it was his intention to spend his days there; and one strong inducement was, that his sister was lately married to a son of Colonel Putnam, who, with young Dr. Putnam and his wife, had set out for the country, He likewise said it was necessary that he should be ordained here, for otherwise he could not be ready to go with Mr. Story. I readily consented to provide for the council, and have the ordination in our Meeting House. The time was so short before Mr. Story would go, that the utmost dispatch was necessary. As there was not occasion to apply to churches, but only to a suitable number of ministers, the ordination might take place as soon as they could be convened, and proper arrangements made. We fixed on the next Thursday, that he might have time to return home on Friday and Saturday. We also agreed on eight ministers who should be requested to attend and assist. He proposed to set out immediately for Mr. Story, who was at Cape Ann, and to get him to my house as soon as possible, which he did. It being so sudden a matter, I thought it best to go to each of the ministers myself. Having dispatched messengers to different parts of the town, to notify the people, and request them to attend the service at 2 o'clock on Thursday, I set out myself to see the ministers we had agreed to invite. Having seen a number of them, I returned last evening, and found Mr. Story and Mr. Perkins; but, to my extreme mortification, found that Mr. Perkins had thought, upon the whole, that he must go to Plainfield to be ordained. This was a point that, after all that could be said, he could not give up. We then agreed that the day of his ordination should be the 14th Sept., at Plainfield, and that Mr. Story should be present and take a part in the service; that he should be ready to set out im-

UNIVERSITY OF ILLINOIS LIBRARY

mediately after on his journey. Having thus agreed, he set out this morning for Connecticut, while I was obliged to send off messengers to prevent both ministers and people from assembling. We have full testimonials that Mr. Perkins is a young gentleman of an unblemished character, a serious mind, and good heart, and that he is possessed of very handsome abilities. My personal acquaintance with him is too short to make up any opinion of my own. His manners are pleasing, and conversation agreeable. As to his popularity as a preacher, I am quite a stranger, having never heard him preach. I believe, however, that his nerves are excitable, and constitution rather slender. If he goes on, I hope he will be acceptable and useful as a minister. But, I must say I very much fear that, after all, he will fail of going. Finding that it must be considerable time before Mr. Story will reach Marietta, and conceiving it would be agreeable to you to hear from him (who sends his best regards to you, your family, and all his friends), I have sat down to write, and shall forward this letter by post. The circumstances respecting Mr. Perkins have made such an impression upon my mind that I could not help giving them in detail (which has intolerably lengthened out my letter), and must beg you to pardon me. Mr. Story has been very fortunate in having had almost constant preaching—scarcely lost a day. I have been able to obtain his assistance only one day—the day after his ordination.

With sincere regards to any inquiring friends, I am,
With sincere affection,
Your most humble serv't,
M. Cutler.

If you should see my son, I will thank you to inform him that we are all well, and, if you please, acquaint him with the circumstances of the ordination. Will you be so kind as to inform me respecting the Land Tax? Are you to have a general Assembly this Autumn? What is the state of our settlement? What is the probable number of settlers on the whole purchase? Are you Federal? We hope Bonaparte is a prisoner, but have our fears. I sent a letter received from my son, containing an account of the celebration of Independence at Waterford, to Russell, Editor of the "Sentinel." He was much pleased with the information, and prepared a long introduction for his paper; but, putting it into his pocket and going into the street, he lost both introduction and letter, and has never been able to find them. This prevented their publication. Pray favor me with a line. Can I be of any further service in endeavoring to procure candidates, or in any other way? You only have to command. Mr. Gerry is said to return a Federalist. He was at first little noticed by the first Federal characters, but attended by almost all the Jacobins. He landed at Long Wharf about one. The Federalists, by agreement, took not the least notice of him as he walked up State Street; not a hat was moved. It is reported that he declares no American can form any idea of the corruption and baseness of the French Government; that nothing happened while the other envoys remained to be compared with what took place afterward; that for several weeks he had not the least hope that he should ever see his native country, or even live from one day to another; that scenes of their corruption will be published when Congress meet which will astonish the world; that the measures of government are the only measures that can save us—we must stand upon our own legs, or inevitably fall; that he is pleased with the spirit of the country. Many continue, however, to blame him. It is also said that, on a visit to our good President, he gave him much better satisfaction than the President expected; that the President, however, can not get over his committing himself to Talleyrand, and engaging to keep a secret from the other envoys. Such is report.

[*To General Putnam.*]

HAMILTON, *Oct.* 31, 1798.

Dear Sir:—Finding it would be long before Mr. Story would arrive at Marietta, and not having written to you since his ordination (expecting Mr. Story to set out soon), I wrote a few days ago by post. This being so favorable an opportunity, though I have nothing material to mention, I can not omit embracing it. In my last, I informed you that Mr. Perkins had agreed to go on as a candidate with Mr. Story, and had gone to Connecticut, where he proposed to be ordained at large. I think it doubtful whether he will be ordained, and, indeed, whether he goes with Mr. Story. My sole view in proposing that the candidate should be ordained at large before he went was, that the people in your country might be freed from the great inconvenience of sending a gentleman whom they might elect for their minister to New England to be ordained, and that ordination might be *regularly* performed in the Western Country. Since Mr. Perkins left us, I have thought much on the subject, and examined into the usages and precedents to be found in the History of the Congregational Churches since the first settlement of America. I am now clear in the opinion that, considering the particular circumstances of your country, it will be *in order*, and in conformity to apostolic example, for Mr. Story with his church, and with such other churches as may be formed, to perform ordination. The ordaining prayer (after sermon) and the charge are considered as the acts which invest the minister with the Pastoral office. These ought to be performed by Mr. Story. In Boston, it has been almost an invariable practice for the minister to be ordained to preach his own ordination sermon. It would not be improper for the ordaining council to appoint any one of their members, who might, beforehand, prepare himself to give the Right Hand of Fellowship. I find a number of the most respectable ministers in this vicinity perfectly agree with me in this opinion. When opportunity presents, I hope you will have the satisfaction of seeing ordinations solemnized in your towns. If I can do any thing in getting candidates to go on, I shall do it with the greatest pleasure. You will find in the charge to Mr. Story reference to the Ancient Works, with an explanatory note. The dimensions are taken from your survey, and, I conceive, are perfectly correct. What is said of the opening of the large mound, and the skeleton, etc., is taken from a letter from Major Sargent. It is doubtful in my mind whether the opinion I have advanced respecting the design of the different works and mounds will accord with yours. The limits of the note did not permit me to give any reasons which have led to my present opinion. I should have mentioned many things respecting the tribes westward of the Mississippi, and some on this side, which I have met with in a variety of histories, but it would have drawn out the note to a length that could not be admitted in this publication. I should have mentioned other names besides Governor St. Clair as being present when the trees were examined, if I had not been under the absolute necessity of being as concise as possible. I think the account of the circles, which determined the age of the trees, ought to be preserved. Perhaps it may be well to do it in this way, as it will be in the possession of many people, both here and with you. . . . In the newspapers, we are told there is to be a general court held at Marietta this autumn. If there is, will you be so kind as to give me a sketch of their doings? It would be a satisfaction to be informed of the probable number of people on our purchase and the present state of the settlements. When you find leisure, pray be so kind as to favor me with a line. In the mean time, be assured that I am,

Your most affectionate friend and humble serv't,

HON. JUDGE PUTNAM. M. CUTLER.

CHARGE BY REV. DR. CUTLER, AT THE ORDINATION OF REV. MR. STORY, PASTOR OF THE CHURCH AT MARIETTA, OHIO, GIVEN AT HAMILTON, MASS., AUGUST 15, 1798.

You are now, Sir, by the laying on of hands, and solemn prayer to God, set apart to the work of the Gospel Ministry. To your special care and charge are committed the Church and Christian Society at Marietta, by whose express desire you are ordained their pastor. In the name of the great Head of the church, we most solemnly charge you to be a faithful minister of the gospel. Take heed to the ministry which you have received and fulfill it. Preach the word in its purity and simplicity. Let the most interesting truths, contained in the oracles of God, be the leading subjects of your public discourses. Apply yourself with zeal and industry to the duties of your office. Improve the talent you have received, and bring to the people the beaten oil of the Sanctuary. Shun not to declare the whole counsel of God. As a wise instructor, teach every man; as a true watchman, warn every man; as a faithful shepherd, feed, in all seasons, the flock of God, feed Christ's sheep, feed his lambs. You are engaging in the work of the ministry at a time when infidelity is openly professed, when it is propagated with artful industry. Attend to the internal and external evidences of divine revelation, and be always ready with those substantial arguments, in support of the authenticity of the Scriptures, which will silence gainsayers and evince the reasonableness of the Christian faith. My Brother! Take heed to yourself. Instruct your people by your own example; live the religion you recommend to them. Let it be your concern that the temper of your mind, as well as the tenor of your conduct, accord with the spirit of the gospel. Feel your dependence, and, by ardent and daily supplication, seek to Heaven for divine influence. In the course of your services at the Altar of God, you are to administer the sacraments of the New Testament, baptism, and the Lord's supper to all proper subjects, making the word of God your rule, and strictly adhering to the sacred institutions. You are to preside in the government of the church with prudence and firmness. You are to dispense the discipline of God's house with faithfulness and impartiality. You are now, Sir, vested with power to ordain and separate others to the work of the ministry. In the new and extended country where you are to labor we hope there will be frequent occasions for the exercise of this part of the ministerial office. We must give it in solemn charge, that you commit this trust to faithful men—to such as are able to teach others, to men whose acquirements and whose characters will not be a reproach to the ministry. Remember, you are to lay hands suddenly on no man. To see the many new societies now forming in your vicinity supplied with able and faithful ministers, must be an object near your heart. It is in every view highly important to them, for it intimately concerns their political and social as well as their spiritual and eternal interests. There is no description of men capable of doing more, in promoting the peace, order, and real prosperity of an infant country, than wise, active, and faithful ministers. May it never be forgotten that an unlearned, unskillful, and immoral ministry is one of the greatest evils that can befall the church of God. Sensible that to you the care of souls is committed, you will watch for them as one that must give an account. In the course of your ministry, you are to expect to meet with trials and discouragements of different kinds. Providence has cast your lot among a people collected from various parts of the world, bringing with them the sentiments, habits, and manners they had previously contracted. Difficult must be the task of rendering yourself useful and acceptable to them all, while you faithfully discharge the duties of your office. To engage their attention, you must endeavor to acquire their confidence. To recommend religion, and illustrate its amiable tendency, you must persevere in a constant solicitude to promote their best good. Prudence will be indispensably requisite, and without it, every other qualification will be of little avail. You will need the wisdom of the serpent and the innocence of the dove. From the assiduous exertions of the people of your charge to obtain and enjoy the stated ministrations of the gospel, and the pleasing unanimity and affection with which they have elected you to be their pastor, after a probationary trial of more than eight years, you must derive the encouraging hope of their cheerful concurrence in rendering your labors agreeable and successful. May you, on your return to them, be received as an ascension gift of our blessed Lord.

You have the honor, Sir, to be the first regularly ordained and settled minister of the Congregational denomination in that extensive country westward of the Alleghany Mountains. We who are convinced that this denomination is most conformable to the Sacred Scriptures, and, from long experience, think it most consistent with the rights of conscience and religious liberty, most congenial with our National Government, and most friendly to those numerous municipal advantages which well-formed Christian societies endeavor to promote, feel much satisfaction in seeing it transplanted into that growing country. You, Sir, are going to a country favorable to a high degree of population, capable of supporting, and probably will one day contain inhabitants as numerous as those of the Atlantic States. You are entering on an active scene, and the noblest motives to exertion will continually present themselves to your view. To behold a country which was lately, very lately, a howling wilderness, the gloomy abode of numerous savage tribes, the haunts and lurking-places of the cruel invaders of our defenseless frontiers, regardless of age and sex, sporting with the agonies of captives while expiring under their infernal tortures—a people ignorant of the true God and devoted to their heathen rites and barbarous superstitions; to see this country so rapidly changing into cultured fields, inhabited by civil and well-regulated societies, peaceably enjoying the fruits of their enterprise, industry, culture, and commerce; to hear the voice of plenty, urbanity, and social enjoyment; above all, to see it illumined by the pure and benevolent religion of the gospel, enjoyed in all its regular ministrations and divine ordinances. To behold scenes and events like these, My Brother, are not merely pleasing contemplations, they are animating motives to zeal and activity in your ministerial labors. It would have afforded great additional happiness to have seen the savage tribes converted to the Christian faith, but it gives much satisfaction, and may prepare the way for the introduction of the gospel among them, that a peace, wise and just in its principles, and which promises a permanent duration, has been concluded with them. Government having fairly and honorably purchased of them their right to the soil, they are quietly retreating to distant parts of the wilderness. I can not forbear reminding you, my dear sir, that on the very ground where you are statedly to dispense the gospel you behold those ancient ruins, those extended walls and elevated mounds, which were erected many years ago. These works must have required for years the labors of thousands, and are certain indications that vast numbers of the natives once inhabited this place. When these antiquities are minutely examined, they induce a belief that part of them, at least, are the monuments of ancient superstition. Their temples and their idols were probably placed on the elevated square mounds, where the ceremonies of their gloomy, heathenish devotions were performed. On these mounds, in all probability, numerous *human sacrifices* have been offered. May we adore that *Providence* which is now planting on this memorable spot the evangelical religion of Jesus. Here may it be permanently established, and may its benign influence be extended throughout every part of the American world. Here may you, sir, be long continued a faithful and successful minister. In contemplating the magnitude and importance of the work to which you are this day solemnly consecrated, well may you ask: *Who is sufficient for these things?* Trust not in your own strength, but in Him whose grace is sufficient for you. Feel the influence, not merely of those local considerations which your particular situation so naturally suggests, but of those great truths and momentous concerns which the gospel will continually present to your view. You are now about to take your leave, probably a final leave of your nearest connections. May the painful hour of parting with them be cheered by the reflection that you are going on a great and useful, an honorable and glorious errand, a work which holy angels would with pleasure perform. Those benevolent spirits who sang praises to God in the highest, because there was on earth, peace and good will toward men, would cheerfully be employed in turning men from the error of their ways, and saving souls from death.

Go, then, my Friend, and the God of peace be with you.

NOTE TO DR. CUTLER'S CHARGE AT THE ORDINATION OF REV. DANIEL STORY, AUGUST 15, 1798.

Vestiges of ancient works, of which the present natives retain no tradition, are found in various parts of the western territory. Of those that have yet been discovered, the works at Marietta are of the greatest magnitude. Their situation is on an elevated plain. They consist of walls and mounds of earth, in direct lines, and in square and in circular forms. The largest square contains 40 acres. On each side are three openings, at equal distances, resembling twelve gateways. The smallest square contains 20 acres, with a gateway in the center of each side. At the angles of the squares are openings similar to those at the sides. The walls, which were made of earth, were not thrown up from ditches, but raised by bringing the earth from some distant place, or taking it up uniformly from the surface of the plain. They were probably made of equal height and breadth, but the waste of time had rendered them lower and broader in some parts than in others. By an accurate measurement they were found to be from 4 to 8 feet in height, and from 25 to 26 feet, at the base, in breadth. Two parallel walls, running from an angle of the largest square toward the Muskingum River, which seemed to have been designed for a covered way, were 175 feet distant from each other, and measured on the inner side, in the most elevated part, 24 feet in height, and 42 feet broad at the base. Within and contiguous to the squares, are many elevated mounds, of a conic form and of different magnitudes. The most remarkable of the mounds within the walls are three, of an oblong square form, in the great square. The largest of these is 188 feet in length, 100 feet in width, and 9 feet in height, level on the summit, and nearly perpendicular at the sides. At the center of each of the sides the earth is projected, forming gradual ascents to the summit, extremely regular, and about 6 feet in width Near the smallest square is a mound raised in the form of a sugar-loaf, of a magnitude that strikes the beholder with astonishment. Its base is a regular circle, 115 feet in diameter, and is 30 feet in altitude. It is surrounded by a ditch, at the distance of 33 feet from its base, 15 feet wide, and 4 feet deep, forming a bank 4 feet in height, leaving an opening or gateway, toward the square, about 20 feet wide. Besides these, there are other works, but the limits of this note will not admit of a description.

At the commencement of the settlement (at Marietta) the whole of these works were covered by a prodigious growth of trees. When I arrived, the ground was in part cleared, but many large trees remained on the walls and mounds. The only possible data for forming any probable conjecture respecting the antiquity of the works, I conceived, must be derived from the growth upon them. By the concentric circles, each of which contains the annual growth, the ages of the trees might be ascertained. For this purpose a number of the trees were felled, and in the presence of Governor St. Clair and many other gentlemen, the number of circles were carefully counted. The trees of the greatest size were hollow. In the largest of those which were sound, there were from three to four hundred circles. One tree, somewhat decayed at the center, was found to contain at least four hundred and sixty-three circles. Its age was undoubtedly more than 463 years. Other trees, in a growing state, were from their appearance much older. There were, likewise, the strongest marks of a previous growth as large as the present. Decaying stumps could be traced at the surface of the ground, on different parts of the works, which measured from 6 to 8 feet in diameter. In one of the angles of a square, a decayed stump measured 8 feet in diameter at the surface of the ground; and though the body of the tree was so moldered as scarcely to be perceived above the surface of the earth, we were able to trace the decayed wood, under the leaves and rubbish, nearly an hundred feet. A thrifty beach, containing 136 circles, appeared to have first vegetated within the space occupied by an ancient predecessor of a different kind of wood.

Admitting the age of the present growth to be 450 years, and that it had been preceded by one of equal size and age, which as probably as otherwise was not the first, the works have been deserted more than 900 years. If they were occupied one hundred years, they were erected more than a thousand years ago.

It is highly probable the exterior walls were erected for defense. An opening being made at the summit of the great conic mound, there were found the bones of an adult in an horizontal position covered with a flat stone. Beneath this skeleton were thin stones placed vertically at small and different distances, but no bones were discovered. That this venerable monument might not be defaced, the opening was closed without further search. The cells formed by the thin stones might have contained, like the charnel houses in Mexico, the skulls of the sacrifices; or the mound may be a general depository for the dead, collected in the manner described by Lafitau and other travelers among the Indian tribes.

The large mounds in the great square, it can hardly be doubted, were appropriated to religious purposes. On them they erected their temples, placed their idols, and offered their sacrifices; for it is difficult to conceive of any other purpose for which they could have been designed. Comparing their form and situation with the places of worship in Mexico and other parts of the country, when first discovered, we find as great a similarity as there was in the places of worship among those different tribes. Their temples were generally erected and their idols placed on natural or artificial elevations, with gradual ascents. If the Mexican tribes, agreeably to their historic paintings and traditions, came from the northward, and some of them in their migrations went far to the eastward, it is not improbable that either some of those tribes, or others similar to them in their customs and manners, and who practiced the same religious rites, were the constructors of those works. The present natives bear a general resemblance, in their complexion, form, and size to the ancient Mexicans. Though their rites and ceremonies differ, they profess the general principles of the Mexican religion; believing in the Great Spirit, good and evil genii, and a state of existence after death. They have no temples, nor images, but some faint notions of religious oblations are to be found among them. When it is considered how long it must have been since these works were erected, how generally the practice of offering human sacrifices anciently prevailed among all the tribes from Louisiana to the western ocean; that men, women, and children were sacrificed in their smaller as well as most populous towns; that in the dominions of Montezuma, only, as historians say, twenty thousand were yearly sacrificed, and in some years fifty thousand, will it not strengthen the probability that human sacrifices were among the religious rites of the ancient possessors of this ground?

ORDINATION OF REV. DANIEL STORY.*

At Hamilton, August 15, 1798, the Rev. Daniel Story was ordained pastor of the church in Marietta, in the North-western Territory of the United States.

The introductory prayer was made by the Rev. Dr. Barnard, of Salem. A sermon was preached by the Rev. Mr. Story, of Marblehead, on 2 Cor. 4: 5: "For we preach not ourselves, but Christ Jesus the Lord; and ourselves your servants for Jesus' sake." The ordaining prayer was made by the Rev. Mr. Forbes, of Gloucester. The Rev. Dr. Cutler, of Hamilton,

---

*See *Salem Gazette*, August 21, 1798.

gave the charge; the Rev. Mr. Wadsworth, of Danvers, the Right Hand of Fellowship; and the Rev. Mr. Dana, of Ipswich, concluded with prayer.

"The assembly was numerous and attentive. It gave pleasure to every benevolent mind to learn that a respectable church and congregation have been formed in that distant settlement, and that they are happily united in the choice of so worthy a gentleman as their minister, who, it is not doubted, will do honor to his profession, and contribute to the virtue and happiness of those enterprising sons of our country under whose culturing hands the wilderness has been literally changed into a fruitful field and the desert made to blossom as the rose."

With a rare spirit of self-sacrifice, Mr. Story returned to Marietta, to encounter the hardships incident, even in time of peace, to a frontier post. Placed among a people impoverished by the long Indian war, and scarcely able to provide for their own families, he was not disposed to press his personal claims. It was expected that the rental of the section of land set apart for the support of the Gospel would be added to his meager salary, and thus a comfortable support be assured; but, from various causes, little was available from this source. He continued his services as pastor of the church until the 15th of March, 1804, when, his health being too much impaired to admit of the performance of the duties of his vocation, he was dismissed at his own request, and died December 30, 1804, aged 49 years, and was buried in the beautiful Mound Cemetery of Marietta. Mr. Story never married. Perhaps few know or appreciate his sacrifices, or the difficulties to which he was reduced. Dr. Hildreth, in his Lives of the Early Settlers, says of him: "He spent not only his life, but all his substance, in the service of the cause to which he was devoted."

The next subject which occupied Dr. Cutler's attention was the organizing of the University.

In a letter to Dr. Cutler, dated February 3, 1799, General Putnam writes:

That you may have data on which to make your calculations, the following statement may not be useless:

The two University townships contain 46,880 acres. Fortunately, I believe them to be the two best townships of land in the whole purchase. They are all, or nearly all, taken up and settled, some in large and some in small tracts. The settlement commenced two years ago next April. Among the settlers are a number of New England people, men of considerable information, abilities, and industry. The number of militia is about one hundred. They already raise their own provisions, have a corn-mill, etc. They none of them expect to have the lands more than five years rent free from the time of settlement, and the lowest permanent rent at which those lands can be put, on an average, I conceive, can not be less than twelve dollars per hundred acres, which gives $5,529.60 annual income for the support of the University. And as to the school and ministry lands, I suppose the whole quantity to be 62,700 acres, some of which I suppose to be extremely valuable, as those at Marietta and in some other townships; others, I know, are very poor. But after five years cultivation rent free, I will suppose them to rent at six dollars the hundred acres, and then the amount will be 3,762 dollars—say one-half for schools and one-half for the ministry. Although these estimates are below what I expect these lands will be ultimately rented for, yet even such an income, well applied to the different objects for which it is intended, will be of infinite advantage to these settlements; and some means ought to be adopted as soon as possible for bringing all these lands into a state of improvement.

Suppose the law to be enacted should, among others, contain the following provisions, viz: That A., B., C., D., E., F., etc., be a body corporate, vested with power to lease all the lands within the Ohio Company's Purchase given or appropaiated by Congress or the Ohio Company for the support of a University, for the support of religion and for schools, either on a limited or perpetual lease, and for such rent, to be paid annually, as they shall judge reasonable, and for the best interests of the several establishments for the support of which the several grants have been made.

Provided, that the University lands shall not be leased for less, on an average, than —— dollars per hundred acres; the ministry lands at Marietta, on an average, at —— dollars per acre; nor any bottom lands on the Ohio or Hockhocking, belonging either to the school or ministry, for less than —— dollars per acre; and no other bottom lands belonging to the school or ministry for less than —— per acre; and for any other school or ministry lands for not less than —— per acre.

The said A., B., etc., to be further empowered to erect buildings, appoint the officers, etc., necessary for the complete establishment of the University, with the usual powers of such an institution. And with respect to the ministerial rents, they shall be so disposed of as that it shall be equally distributed or divided among the incumbent ministers within the Purchase, in part payment of the annual salaries contracted for by the people; saving that each township having a minister shall have the exclusive right to the income of the ministry lands within their townships respectively before the dividend aforesaid is made, and the dividend to be made on the remainder.

The money arising from the rent of school lands to be disposed of in the same manner.

These, sir, are broken hints which have just come into my head. I do n't know but on reflection I should reject them all. I hope you will consider the subject and give me your opinion, or rather, a systemized plan applied to our circumstances and the objects we have in view.

In a letter written July 15, 1799, Dr. Cutler replies:

I have received your kind favor of Feb. 3d, and should have written before this time had I not waited for more leisure to digest the subject you propose respecting the charter. My time has been unusually occupied, which rendered it impossible to pay that attention to the matter which the importance of it requires. My greatest difficulty is, so to adjust the powers with their proper checks and balances as best to promote the design of the institution in future time, as well as the present. It is necessary to look forward to a time when the Western Territory will be in a very different state from the present. I have attempted to throw my ideas on paper, and fully intended to have forwarded them by this opportunity; but I have not been able to mature my mind sufficiently to satisfy myself, and am sure I should not be able to satisfy others. I must confess, what has been passing in the world these last ten years has rendered me less democratic, and convinced me that, without energy, no government can promote the true interests of any description of society.

A government adapted to youth ought to be different from that of mature age, or advanced life. My present thoughts are, that the government ought to consist of three branches; that in each, or in the three connected, there ought to be a balance from the civil and ecclesiastical departments; and I entertain no doubt, circumstanced as the school and ministerial lots are, it will be best that the government of the University should have some control over them. There is no way in which all the lots could be rendered so soon and so effectually productive, and the income more faithfully applied to the purposes for which the donation was designed; but so to form this controlling power as to insure to the people all the advantages they have a right to expect, free from abuse, appears to me a nice and delicate point.

So far as I have had opportunity, I have consulted the charters of public seminaries in Europe and America. Those in our own country are generally the most modern, and the best adapted to the purposes intended; but none appear to me to accord with a plan so liberal and extensive as I think ought to be the foundation of the constitution of this University. The constitution ought to be composed of mere principles, and those principles as clear and few as may be. But I have only a few moments to write. As soon as possible, will attend further to the matter, and forward the little I shall be able to do for your inspection. I thank you for the hints in your letter, and think them important. My son writes me the Assembly is to meet in September. This session will probably be too busy a one to attend to this subject, if you were ready for your application; but I hope to write you seasonably, if you should think proper to do it.

General Putnam, writing again to Dr. Cutler, August 7, 1799, referring to his letter of February 3d, says:

This request I must again renew, and by a systemized plan, I mean a Bill in form of an Act, or Law incorporating A. B.,

C. D., etc., and defining their powers, accompanied by such remarks as you may think proper to make.

We are totally destitute of any copy of an incorporating act, or charter of a College, or even an Academy; but this is not my principal reason for applying to you. It is a subject I know you have long thought of, therefore I request of you not only the form, but the substance. I want you to make one out in detail, or procure it done for us, and forward it by mail to me as soon as it is ready.

In response Dr. Cutler prepared and forwarded to General Putnam the following:

CHARTER OF UNIVERSITY.

Institutions for the liberal education of Youth being essential to the progress of Arts and Sciences, important to morals and religion, friendly to the peace, order, and prosperity of Society, and honorable to the Government which patronizes them; and Congress having made grants of lands for the encouragement and support of a *University*, for schools, and for the purposes of Religion, within the purchase made by the Ohio Company of Associates; Therefore:

SECTION I. *Be it enacted by the General Assembly* (here insert the style of the Assembly), That there be a University instituted and established, and forever to remain, within the limits of the tract of land purchased by the said Ohio Company of Associates, by the name of the *American University*, for the instruction of youth in all the various branches of the liberal Arts and Sciences, for the promotion of good education, piety, religion, and morality, and for conferring all the degrees and literary honors granted in similar institutions.

SEC. II. *And be it further enacted*, That there shall be in the said University, and forever to remain, a body politic by the name and style of the *Board of Trustees* of the *American University*, which Board of Trustees shall consist of the President and Vice-President of the University, *ex officio*, and of eleven Trustees, all of whom shall reside, while in office, within the limits of the purchase made by the said Ohio Company of Associates; to be appointed as hereafter provided.

SEC. III. *And be it further enacted*, That the said Board of

Trustees shall have power and authority to elect a President, who shall preside in the University, and also a Vice-President, who shall preside in the absence of the President; and likewise to appoint Professors, Tutors, Instructors, and all such officers and servants in the University as they shall deem necessary for carrying into effect the design of this Institution; and shall have authority, from time to time, to determine and establish the name, number, and duties of all the officers and servants to be employed in the University, except wherein provision is otherwise made by their act; and may empower the President, or some other member of the Board, to administer such oaths as they shall appoint and determine for the well ordering and good government of the University.

SEC. IV. *And be it further enacted*, That the said Board of Trustees shall have power and authority from time to time to enact statutes and rules for the government of the said Board, not incompatible with the Government of the United States, or the state in which the University is founded; and shall have power and authority to suspend, dismiss, and disfranchise the President, Vice-President, or any member of the said Board, who shall, by his conduct, render himself unworthy of the office, station, or place he sustains; and said Board shall have power and authority to suspend, dismiss, disfranchise, and remove from the University, any officer or instructor (except the President and Vice-President), or any resident, student, or servant, whenever the said Board shall deem it expedient for the interest and honor of the University. And whenever the President, Vice-President, or any member of the Board of Trustees, shall be removed by death, resignation, or otherwise, or whenever any member of the Board shall move his place of residence without the limits of the purchase of the Ohio Company of Associates, the said Board shall hold a meeting, and due notice of the design thereof shall be given to each member, for the purpose of supplying such vacancy; and there shall be not less than nine members present at the time of choosing a President, Vice-President, or member of the Board, and the choice shall be made by ballot; and the President shall, at all times, have the right of nominating to the Board, but not of appointing, his successor in office, except when he shall be removed for misdemeanor; and the said Board shall appoint a certain day for holding a public commencement, and such commencement shall be annually holden within or near the University, for the purpose of conferring such degrees and literary honors as are usually granted in similar institutions, at which time the Board of Trustees shall always be present; and the first commencement shall be holden as soon as, in the opinion of the Board, there shall be a sufficient number of students qualified to receive literary honors; and no degrees, or literary honors, shall be at any time given without the previous approbation of the Board of Trustees.

SEC. V. *And be it further enacted*, That the President, Vice-President, and such Professors, Tutors, or Instructors as the Board of Trustees shall appoint for that purpose, shall have power and authority, from time to time, to order, regulate, and establish the mode and course of education and instruction to be pursued in the University, and also to make, publish, and execute such a code of rules, regulations, and by-laws as they shall deem necessary for the well-ordering and good government of the University, and to repeal or amend any part thereof; *provided, nevertheless*, that all such rules, regulations, and by-laws, before they become valid, shall be examined and approved by the Board of Trustees. And the President, or, in his absence, the Vice-President or Senior Instructor, shall direct and cause to be holden in the said University, quarterly, in every year, a public examination, at which all the Professors and Instructors shall be present; and each class of the students shall be examined relative to the proficiency they have made in their particular arts, sciences, or branches of education in which they have been instructed.

SEC. VI. *And be it further enacted*, That the said Board of Trustees shall have one common seal, which shall be the seal of the University, under which shall be passed every Diploma, or certificate of Degrees, and the President, Vice-President, or Board of Trustees make use thereof in any writing or instrument which may concern the University, or be relative to the end and design of its institution, and the said Board shall have power to break, change, and renew the same at pleasure;

and that they may sue and be sued in all actions, real, personal, and mixed, and prosecute and defend the same unto final judgment, by the name of the Board of Trustees of the American University.

SEC. VII. *And be it further enacted*, That the said Board of Trustees shall, forever hereafter, have power and authority to lease, let, rent, and improve, for the use of the University, all the lands contained in the townships number *eight* and number *nine*, in the *fourteenth* range of townships, within the purchase of the Ohio Company of Associates, being the two townships given "for the purpose of a University," by the Congress of the United States of America, by a certain indenture executed on the twenty-seventh day of October, in the year one thousand seven hundred and eighty-seven, and confirmed by an act of Congress, entitled "an act authorizing the grant and conveyance of certain lands to the Ohio Company of Associates," passed in the year one thousand seven hundred and ninety-two, and also by *Letters Patent*, under the seal of the United States, granted to the Directors of the Ohio Company of Associates, dated the tenth day of May, in the aforesaid year; and the improvements, rent, and income thereof shall be applied for carrying into effect the designs of the said University, in such way and manner as the said Board of Trustees shall direct.

SEC. VIII. *And be it further enacted*, That the said Board of Trustees shall, forever hereafter, be deemed capable, in law, of having, holding, and taking in fee-simple, by purchase, gift, grant, devise, or otherwise, and of using and improving any lands, tenements, or other estate, real or personal, for the use of the said University; *provided*, that the annual income of such real estate shall not exceed forty thousand dollars, and the annual income or interest of such personal estate shall not exceed fifty thousand dollars, to be valued in silver at one hundred and ten cents by the ounce; and the annual income or interest of the said real or personal estate shall be applied for the benefit of the University in such way and manner as the Board of Trustees shall, from time to time, determine; and in case any donation shall be made for particular purposes, relative to the designs of this institution, and the

Board of Trustees shall accept the same, every such donation shall be applied in conformity to the will of the Donor.

SEC. IX. *And be it further enacted*, That the Board of Trustees, or such person or persons as they shall appoint, shall have power and authority to let, lease, or cause to be improved, from time to time, the lots number sixteen, given by Congress for the use of schools, and the lots number twenty-nine, appropriated by Congress to the purposes of Religion, within the several townships granted to the Directors of the Ohio Company of Associates by *Letters Patent*, under the seal of the United States; and the inhabitants of each respective township shall have the exclusive right to the rents, income, or improvements arising from the lot number sixteen and the lot number twenty-nine, which are situate within their respective townships, to be appropriated agreeably to the intentions for which the said lots were respectively given; and the Board of Trustees shall pay, or cause to be paid without delay, the amount of the rents, or income of the lot number sixteen, as soon as such rents or income can be obtained, or, otherwise, shall appropriate the improvement thereof solely to the use and benefit of schools; and in like manner shall the profits, in any way or manner arising from the lot number twenty-nine, be solely appropriated to the purposes of Religion, and under such rules and regulations as the said Board shall establish for carrying into effect the design of the respective donations. And the said Board of Trustees shall, as speedily as may be, put, or cause the said lots to be put, into a state to be productive, by causing them to be rented, or otherwise improved, in such manner as the said Board shall judge will be most beneficial to the inhabitants of each respective township; *provided, notwithstanding*, that the rents or income of such lots as may be situate in townships where the profits arising therefrom can not, at the present time, be applied agreeably to the design of the donation, for the benefit of the inhabitants of such townships within the said townships, the profits arising from the improvements thereof may be applied for the promoting the instruction of youth and the purposes of Religion, respectively, where school instructors and religious teachers are actually employed, until the inhabitants of such townships can receive the benefit thereof, within their respective townships; and the said Board shall apportion such profits in such way and manner as, in their opinion, shall be most just and equitable to the inhabitants, and most conducive to promote the designs of the respective donations.

Sec. X. *And be it further enacted*, That A. B., C. D., E. F. (naming eleven) shall constitute the said Board of Trustees, for the time being, and until a President and Vice-President of the University shall be elected and enter into office; and that A. B. be, and he is hereby, authorized to appoint the time and place of holding the first meeting, and that he notify each member constituting the Board of Trustees to attend accordingly; and that, as soon as the said Board shall judge it expedient, a President and Vice-President, or either of them, shall be chosen in the manner before prescribed; and that, at all times, the President, or, in his absence, the Vice-President, or, in his absence, such member as the Board shall appoint, shall preside at the meetings of said Board of Trustees.

[*To General Rufus Putnam.*]

Hamilton, Mass., *June* 30, 1800.

Dear Sir:—Such has been my situation that I could not find leisure to copy a rough draft I had made of an incorporating act many months ago, until this day. Whether any part of it will be agreeable, I think, is very doubtful. I had long been contemplating a very different kind of constitution. Knowing that the colleges at Cambridge and New Haven had derived essential advantages from having the principal civilians in the states concerned in the government, I had thought of a constitution in which one portion of the incorporate body should be the first characters in civil life; another portion, clergymen; and a third, wealthy land-holders. I had also wished to have had two branches in the government of the University, as checks, in some respects, on each other, somewhat like the Overseers and Board of Corporation at Cambridge; but so numerous and insurmountable were the difficulties which rose before me, when I contemplated the situation of your country, that I was obliged to abandon every idea of a government I had long been considering. It may be necessary to make a few remarks upon the inclosed draft. You requested me to put it into the form of a *Bill*, which I have done.

Sec. I. As the American Congress made the grant which is the *foundation* of the University, no name appeared to me more natural than *American University*. The sound is natural, easy, and agreeable, and no name can be more respectable. There is a Columbian College and a Washington College, etc., already in this country, but no *American* College. I hope the name will not be altered.

Sec. II. The number of the Board of Trustees may be thought small, but small numbers feel greater responsibility, do business with more dispatch, and, generally, better, and are less expensive than larger numbers. Dartmouth College has an excellent government, which consists only of the President and ten Trustees. The college at New Haven had only ten, until connected with civilians. It will be best, on many accounts, to have a Vice-President. It creates no expense, as he will have no emolument, only as a Trustee, unless when he acts as President. New Jersey College has found much advantage in having a Vice-President. The Trustees ought to live near the College, and by no means without our purchase. There will be many advantages in having the President and Vice-President members of the Board, but I can not now enumerate them; they will readily occur to you.

Sec. III. The Board is the proper body for appointing all officers, and the duties of such, as Steward, Treasurer, etc.; but the duties of all concerned in the immediate Government and Instruction should be established by the laws of the University.

Sec. IV. The Board must have the power of preserving and purifying itself. The Presidents and Vice-Presidents, I believe, of all colleges, hold their offices during good behavior. Other instructors hold their office during the pleasure of the Government, unless special provision is made by the laws of the College. The power of dismissing, rusticating, and expelling students, is generally in the hands of the immediate Government of Colleges. I thought in this instance, for some special reasons, it would be best to give that power by act of incorporation to the Board in the first instance, but in such a manner that the Board can transfer it to the immediate Government of the University, and regulate it by college laws. There has been found advantage in giving the President the right of nomination; no considerable evil can follow. In many Colleges the President has the right of appointing his successor, but this I would determinately oppose. The incorporating act ought to require public commencements. They ought to be held, and, though there are some inconveniences, there are numerous and important advantages. The Colleges in New York and Philadelphia have suffered much from want of them; in the country they are of the greatest importance. There has often happened, however, absolute necessity for altering the time and place. I have therefore so framed this article as to admit of alteration.

SEC. V. The immediate Government and Instructors of the University, it is to be presumed, will always be the best judges of the mode and course of education, and of laws best adapted to the circumstances of the College. I have so constructed this section as to create, in a sense, two branches to the Government, with a kind of check on each other. With respect to every part of the incorporating act, I have aimed, as much as possible, at plain, general principles, without descending to particular regulations. But especially in the course of study and laws and rules for the immediate government of the University the incorporating act ought to do no more than place the power in the hands of the Board and Instructors, for there must be continual variation, as experience and circumstances will dictate, and to be fettered by an incorporating act might prove extremely injurious to the College. It is safe in their hands, for the Board and Instructors must always feel the highest inducements to establish the best possible regulations, and they will ever be better judges than a general court. But the importance of quarterly examinations is, in my view, so great, and is a regulation so absolutely essential, so apt to be neglected by the Government, and so often opposed and resisted by the students, that I would, by all means, insure the practice, by making it an article of incorporation.

Sec. VI. needs no comments. It is common to all similar institutions.

Sec. VII. To have the two Townships as well secured as possible to the Board, and as claims to land are liable to so many contests, I thought it would be best to be very particular in describing the title by which the University claims the improvement; and that the disposition of all the funds of the University should be unconditionally within the control of the Board, and left wholly to their discretion in applying them. Many colleges have suffered much from having their hands tied in disposing of their funds to the best advantage, and most for the interest of the Seminary. Donations for particular purposes ought to be applied to such purposes.

Sec. VIII. In all the incorporations granted by the General Court of this Commonwealth, the amount of the income of real and personal estate have been each of them limited, but to sums far beyond any probability of their ever arising. Whether other States do the same I know not. If your assembly would not be likely to make any limitation, it might be best to say nothing about it. But if they will do it I am certain that $40,000 or $50,000 can not be too high, as it must be applied to one of the most useful and important purposes to Government and to society. The sums sound large, but no one can say to what amount the income of the endowments of this University may arrive to in time. The income of Oxford and Cambridge, in England, is much greater.

Sec. IX. This will be the bugbear. You suggested the idea, though I had often thought of it before. I am in doubt whether the section is clearly and properly expressed, or sufficiently guarded to answer the purpose. But I am in much greater doubt whether it is possible to get any article of this kind inserted in the act. Sure, I am, it is an object worthy of great exertion to obtain. If those lots and their income were under the discretion of the Board, it could not fail of rendering them of incomparably more benefit than if they should be placed in the hands of the people. The Board will only be the committee for each township, and infinitely better than any committee they can choose. They will have better instructors in their schools, and under better regulations, and the income, probably, of higher amount, than if the people manage the lots themselves. And the ministerial lots may be rendered incomparably more useful. It will tend to prevent sectaries, and secure the people from continual contentions among themselves, become in time a great inducement to respectable characters to engage in the ministry, and in a much greater degree alleviate the taxes of the people. They will, also, much sooner become productive.

With regard to erecting public buildings for the University, I can not so fully express my mind to you as I could wish. At present, I should not think it best to erect any considerable public building. It will be necessary, in the first instance, to open a Latin school, for I conceive it improbable that any youth can be found in the country qualified for admission as the students of a college. Or if a Freshman class can be formed, it must be small. A building of two stories, pretty large on the ground, in form of a school-house, may answer every purpose for some years. I feel an aversion to large buildings for the residence of students, where there are regular families in which they can reside. Chambers in colleges are too often made the secret nurseries of every vice and the cages of unclean birds. It must require time to mature plans for large buildings. I will endeavor to attend to the matter, and give my idea of Public Buildings. In the meantime, be assured that I am, with great respect,

Your friend and humble serv't,

M. Cutler.

On receiving the charter and accompanying letter, General Putnam writes, August 2, 1880:

Your letter of the 30th of June, with the draft of a charter, has been received. I am under the greatest obligations to you for the attention you have paid to the subject, and if it should not in all respects meet the approbation of our legislature, it must be of very great advantage to them in forming an opinion when the subject comes under their consideration.

I have as yet formed no project with respect to public buildings, nor, indeed, thought much of the matter. However, by the time the rents of the lands will be sufficient to erect any kind of building suitable for the purposes, support a President, tutor, etc., I expect students will not be wanting. There are several Academies in the neighboring parts of Pennsylvania, Virginia, and Kentucky, where the Latin and Greek are regularly taught, and the Muskingum Academy at Marietta is at present, and, I trust, will always in the future, be supplied with a master capable of teaching the languages, and I think it can not be long before Latin schools will be established in several other places in the Territory. Indeed, I am more apprehensive that we shall not be able in due time to erect the proper buildings and support the expense of officers, than that we shall want students, although for several years the number may be small.

As was apprehended, that section of the proposed charter of the American University which gave to its board of trustees the care of the school and ministerial lands, was not adopted by the Territorial legislature; but a separate corporation was created, whose special duty it was to lease and secure the improvement of those lands and guard them from waste.

Dr: Cutler's interest in the welfare of the settlements of the North-west was manifested, not only by his endeavors to plant the Gospel and its ordinances among them, but also in efforts to promote the cause of education. He had, when negotiating the land purchase for the Ohio Company, procured from Congress the grant of two townships for the establishment of a University. At a meeting of the agents and proprietors of the Ohio Company, held in Marietta on June 30, 1790, it was ordered, "To fix on the two townships which the Directors, by the Contract with Congress, are obliged to set apart for the support of a University." And on November 9, 1791, the following committee was appointed to carry out this order, viz: Major Goodale, Major White, Elijah Backus, Captain Jonathan Devol, and Colonel Robert Oliver.

The Indian war, which commenced before the lands of the purchase were sufficiently explored to enable the directors to decide upon the proper location of the university townships, continued until the treaty of Greenville, in 1795.

January 10, 1795, at a meeting held in Marietta, the Directors resolved: "That the Committee appointed by a resolution of the 9th of November, 1790, for the purpose of ascertaining and designating the two townships reserved for the benefit of a university, . . . be requested to be ready to go up the Great Hockhocking with the Directors as soon as the season will permit, for the completion of the business for which they were appointed, and that the Superintendent furnish a surveyor and a suitable number of hands for the occasion, also fifteen men as a guard, . . . and that a suitable number of canoes or barges be provided for transporting the necessary provisions." This was a strange introduction of the higher classics to the North-west. In a fleet of canoes, propelled by the power of the setting pole against the swift and narrow channel of the Great Hockhocking, accompanied by armed guards against the lurking savages, and carrying with them the pork, beans, and hard tack that made up their rough fare, the committee of old veterans of three wars proceeded to fix, with compass and chain, the boundaries of the University lands. There was little of culture and polish in the undertaking, but rifles, canoes, and salt pork were never put to a better use.

Of all the plans for the future involved in the purchase, this one of a University was, perhaps, the favorite with Dr. Cutler. He prepared with great care the charter for it, which, adopted with some changes by the legislature of the State of Ohio, gave to this first-born college of the West its start in life.

The first name on the list of its alumni, 1815, is that of Thomas Ewing, as a pioneer—the wood-chopper of the salt works, but as the fruit of a well-planted seed—the student, lawyer, United States Senator and Secretary, the peer of any man in the state or nation.

President Charles W. Super, of the Ohio University, in his Report, dated November 16, 1885, says: "The record shows that in the space of seventy years, that is, from 1815 to 1885, the trustees conferred 489 regular and 75 honorary degrees. That of B.A. was conferred 280 times; of B.S., 65 times; of

B.Ph., 5 times; and of A.M., 289 times. The honorary degree of A.M. was conferred 45 times; that of D.D. 16 times; and that of LL.D. 7 times. The record is one upon which we may look with pardonable pride, for it contains the names of not a few men who have made their mark in the various walks of civil life. And yet it does not contain the names of thousands who received all their literary education at the Ohio University. It will not be far from the truth to say, that out of every twenty students who entered the institution and attended its classes, but one remained long enough to earn a degree."

Jan. 3, *Fri.*, 1800. Studied hard.

Jan. 4, *Sat.* Studied hard and very late.

Jan. 5, *Lord's Day.* Preached. Sacrament. Very full meeting; many staid at communion; three admitted to the church.

Jan. 7, *Tues.* Went to town to hear Mr. Frisbie's Oration on the death of General Washington. Well entertained. Drank tea at Mr. Frisbie's.

Jan. 17, *Fri.* About home. In the evening, (daughter) Lavinia went with me to Mr. Eph. Dodge's, where were a collection of young people. Very rainy night.

Jan. 19, *Lord's Day.* Preached. Pretty full meeting, though very windy; extraordinary attention.

Jan. 21, 22. Visited the schools. The committee all present.

Jan. 29, *Wed.* (At Boston.) Extremely cold and clear. Attended the meeting of the Academy; not full. Meeting adjourned to the Old Senate Chamber, to meet on the 19th February, when Mr. Davis is to deliver a eulogy on General Washington, in Brattle Street Meeting House. Dined at Dr. Lathrop's, and came home.

Feb. 6, 7, 8. At home. Studied hard.

Feb. 18, *Tues.* Attended a meeting in the evening at the school-house (Backside). Large collection of people, Spaulding's men, Deacon Hindman, etc. Preached without notes, from present and not preconceived thoughts, for the first time in my life. Deacon Whipple went and returned with me.

Feb. 22, *Sat.* The natal day of the late General Washington. By recommendation of the General Government, this day was solemnly observed as a day of mourning through the United States. Dr. Lakeman was appointed to deliver an Oration here. At 11 o'clock A. M., a procession was formed in front of the Meeting House—militia officers and troopers in uniform, scholars from the four schools and the four masters, citizens under forty, citizens above forty, strangers, selectmen and committee, minister and Orator. The procession moved toward Wenham; turned, and came up to the front of the Meeting House; opened, and the rear came forward, and in this order went into the Meeting House. Exercise began with an Ode for the 22d of February. I prayed. Funeral Anthem. Dr. Lakeman delivered a Eulogy. Funeral Dirge, and benediction concluded the solemnity. Procession again formed, and moved into the burying-yard, and round it by the walls, and came out in front of the Meeting House, displayed, faced inward, moved through from the rear, and dispersed. Mr. John Woodbury, Jr., and Mr. Jonathan Whipple acted as Marshals. Very crowded assembly; many from upper parish in Beverly and Wenham. Great solemnity and decorum observed through the whole. Mr. Dow present, and dined with us.

Feb. 27, *Thurs.* Preached a lecture at Widow Howard's, on account of her age and infirmities. Large collection of people. Spent the evening with a number of young people at Lieutenant Safford's.

Feb. 28, *Fri.* Colonel Dodge, Mrs. Cutler, and I dined at Mr. Sam'l Adams'. Mr. Whitridge and wife with us afternoon and evening. A very agreeable visit.

Mar. 3, *Mon.* Spent the day in the back part of the Town. Spent the evening at Mr. Jonathan Dodge's. A number of young people present. Conversed on particular religious points.

Mar. 6, 7. Studied.

Mar. 10, *Mon.* Spent the day about town, and the evening at Jonathan Dodge's; a number of serious people present.

Mar. 13, 14, 15. Studied hard.

Mar. 18, *Tues.* Busy about Charter for University.

Mar. 19, *Wed.* Went in the afternoon to Mr. George Dodge's. Going very bad, but a considerable collection of people.

Mar. 22, 26, 28, 29. Studied hard.

Apr. 3, *Thurs.* Annual Fast in this Commonwealth. Preached to a very full meeting.

Apr. 6, *Lord's Day.* Preached. Sacrament. Very full meeting; nine persons admitted to the Church; whole congregation tarried; very solemn. Several strangers.

Apr. 7, *Mon.* Town meeting added 60 dollars to my settlement. Votes for Governor: Strong, 64; Gill, 10. Mr. Bodily here.

Apr. 10, *Thurs.* Meeting in the evening at Mr. G. Dodge's.

Apr. 17, *Thurs.* Lecture at Mr. John Goodhue's, on account of his long confinement. Spent the evening at a meeting at Lieutenant Safford's.

Apr. 30, *Wed.* At Mr. McKeen's lecture, and preached. N.E. storm. Very thin lecture.

May 2, *Fri.* Afternoon went fishing with Cochran and Multimore. Caught white perch.

May 11, *Lord's Day.* Sacrament. Preached. Six admitted to communion; one baptised.

May 12, *Mon.* About home. Town meeting for choosing Representatives. The people took it in their heads to choose me representative.

May 13, *Tues.* Association at Malden. Mr. Emerson, of Boston, preached. Mr. William Multimore and Mr. Peter Cochran went with me, whom I proposed to the Association for examination as candidates for the Ministry. They were examined and approbated. Came home.

May 26, *Mon.* Mr. Parish dined here. P. M., Mrs. C. and I went to Dr. Torrey's.

May 27, *Tues.* Dr. Torrey went with me to Winnisimet Ferry, and brought my horse back. Went over to Boston, and attended the Academy at the new room in the State House. Not very full meeting. Dined at Mr. Hitchborn's, and took lodgings at Mr. Williams'.

May 28, *Wed.* Election. Took my seat in the House of Representatives, with Mr. Blanchard and Major Swasey.

Qualified with the House, which was pretty full. Walked in procession to the Meeting House with Mr. Blanchard. Court escorted by the Co. of Cadets, and returned. Dined at Mr. Bill Smith's. P. M., attended Court.

May 29, *Thurs.* Attended Court. Committee sent to Governor Strong, at Judge Dana's, reported his acceptance. Mr. Strong had only 100 votes over majority. Dined at Dr. Howard's, with a large number of ministers. I could not be spared to attend Convention. Chose Executive Council. Spent the evening at Mr. Hitchborn's.

May 30, *Fri.* Large number of men on horseback, and a great number of carriages, went out to Judge Dana's to escort the Governor into town. Saluted by Company of Artillery at Charlestown, Copp's Hill, and Boston Common. He met the two Houses at 12, and was qualified. Vast crowd of people. I dined at Mr. Sam'l Gardner's, and afternoon attended the House. Went to Stone Chapel. The Charitable Fire Company met there. Excellent music. Oration by Mr. Quincy. Many people, and large collection.

May 31, *Sat.* Came home early in the morning with Dr. Lakeman, who came to Town last night.

June 1, *Lord's Day.* Preached. Pretty full meeting, of our own people, principally.

June 2, *Mon.* Went early to Boston with Bill, who brought horse and chaise back. Attended Court about an hour, when the House adjourned until to-morrow. The Ancient and Honorable Artillery Company came to the State House to conduct His Excellency, the Governor, and the Council, to the Meeting House. Mr. Kelly preached the Artillery Election Sermon. Dined with the Company at Faneuil Hall. Attended, at the Common, the ceremony of the old officers resigning their badges to the Governor, and the new officers receiving them. Very great concourse of people.

June 3, *Tues.* Attended the House. At 12, his Excellency met the two branches. The crowd of spectators was great. The Governor delivered his speech memoriter, and in a most impressive and graceful manner. When the Governor, Council, and Senate had returned, the Speaker of the House read the speech again. A committee was chosen to return an answer. Mr. Lowell, Judge Wells, Mr. Ward, myself, and Mr. Pitman were chosen. I dined with Mr. Lowell. Committee met, P. M.

June 4, *Wed.* Attended the House only a short time. The Committee together most of the day.

June 5, *Thurs.* The Committee reported the answer to the Governor's address. It was accepted very unanimously by the House, no amendments proposed. We were ordered to present it to His Excellency. At 4 o'clock we went to the Council Chamber, and Mr. Lowell read the address before His Excellency and the Council in a very graceful manner. Dined with Mr. Robert Williams; visited Mrs. Belknap, and some of the Senate.

June 6, *Fri.* Very interesting day. On report of Committees on Election. Decided the mode of choosing Electors of President of the U. S. by Yeas and Nays. Chose a Senator for Congress, Mr. Foster. Had a conversation with the Governor. Temple came for me, and I returned to Dr. Torrey's.

June 7, *Sat.* Came home. Attended a Committee of the Town to petition the Court.

June 8, *Lord's Day.* Preached. Full meeting.

Monday. About Town. At the raising of Mr. Patch's Saw-mill.

June 10, *Tues.* Went early to Boston in Mr. Blanchard's chaise. Attended General Court. Presented a petition from the Town. Went out in the evening with Mr. Lyman, in his chariot, to Waltham, and spent the evening and night at his seat. Very delightful. Mr. Blanchard went likewise.

June 11, *Wed.* Viewed garden and pleasure grounds. Mr. Blanchard and I returned early to Boston. Attended Court, and obtained leave of absence. Made up and received bill, 30 Dollars. Came home with Mr. Blanchard.

June 24, 27. Botanized a little.

June 30. About Town. Wrote to General Putnam. Completed the Charter for the University.

Jul. 2, *Wed.* Attended Mr. McKeen's Lecture, and preached.

Jul. 11, *Fri.* Botanized.

Jul. 15, 16. Botanized.

Jul. 19, *Sat.* Inspected grasses.

Jul. 24, *Thurs.* At Wenham, to assist Colonel Burnham in taking a level of a Pond to Wenham Pond, in order to set up manufactory works.

Aug. 4, *Mon.* Studied hard, and all night.

Aug. 5, *Tues.* Quarterly Fast at Mr. Frisbie's. Mr. Frisbie prayed, and I preached, A. M. Mr. Dana prayed, and Mr. Webster preached, P. M.

Aug. 12, *Tues.* Dr. Lakeman and Benja. Dodge, who are learning Navigation, went with us to the marsh. Left home at 3 o'clock, and on the marsh as the sun rose. Went gunning; killed two or three dozen birds. Temple, Foster, Simon, and Bill, finished mowing by 3 o'clock P. M.

Aug. 18, *Mon.* Visited sick. Leach, Holmes, Chapman, and Sawyer, came to school.

Aug. 22 *Fri.* Studied some. Lafevour came to school.

Aug. 23, *Sat.* Mr. Blanchard invited me to dine, but was prevented. Went with him and a Mr. Johonet, of Baltimore, to see Mr. Burnham's canal opened, from a Pond in Wenham N.W. of the Great Pond. Studied in the evening.

Sept. 9, *Tues.* Association met here. Mr. Forbes, Mr. Fuller, Dr. Barnard, Dr. Prince, Mr. Story, Mr. Gun, and Mr. Dow, present. Dr. Torrey and wife, and Dr. Lakeman, dined with us. A very agreeable day. Dr. Hitchcock and wife drank tea with us.

Sept. 16, *Tues.* Cleared the River. Mr. Robt. Williams, Sen. and Jun., Mr. Hitchborn, his lady, and Maria, and Charles Cutler, came on a visit.

Sept. 20, *Sat.* The two Mr. Williams, and Charles, returned to Boston. Visited sick with Dr. Cilly; he dined with us. Other company afternoon; no time to study.

Oct. 9, *Thurs.* Mr. Jacob Berry and Lavinia Cutler were married in the afternoon. Mr. Berry's brothers and sisters, from Salem, Topsfield, and Boxford, Dr. Torrey and wife, and Charles, dined with us; no other company. All returned toward night. Dr. Thatcher, of Boston, on his way to Portsmouth, here after the wedding.

Oct. 17, *Fri.* Attended the funeral of Mr. L. Brown's wife, which prevented my going to Marblehead to attend the funeral of Rev. Mr. Hubbard. Mr. Asa Andrews came to solicit me to be considered as a candidate for the next Congress.

Oct. 21, *Tues.* At Town. Regimental Training. Dined at Mr. Andrews'. Much said about my being elected member for this district in Congress.

Oct. 24, *Fri.* About Town. Major Swasey and Mr. Andrews came to inform me of the doings at Newbury Port* respecting my election to be a member of Congress.

Oct. 26, *Lord's Day.* Preached. Sacrament. Very full meeting, and fine day. Two admitted to Communion. Mr. McKeen, Mr. Frisbie, and Esquire Giddings here, after meeting.

Nov. 1, *Sat.* Sent two teams to West Beach for kelp and seaweed. About town; visited particular persons. Did not feel myself much disposed for study this week.

Nov. 3, *Mon.* This day the members for the 7th Congress chosen in this Commonwealth. Pretty full meeting. Votes for me, 65; none scattering. A declaratory vote passed, unanimously, containing the sense of the town respecting my being chosen a member of Congress.

Nov. 7, *Fri.* By to-day's Salem Paper it appears that the votes in the 4th Middle District stand: Cutler, 1,326; Kittredge, 324; scattering, 54. Majority for me nearly 1,000 (three towns not returned), more than three-fourths. The vote of Hamilton published.

[The following is taken from the Salem (Mass.) Gazette, of November 7, 1800:

"At a meeting in Hamilton for the choice of a Representative for the Fourth Middle District in the 7th Congress of the United States, the following declaratory vote was passed: '*Voted unanimously*, as the sense of this town, that it is with deep regret we contemplate the absence of our highly esteemed pastor, the Reverend Doctor Cutler, should he be chosen to represent this District in the next Congress; but, viewing as we do the critical state of our national affairs, the respectable manner in which he has been brought forward as a candidate, feeling an entire confidence in his abilities, integrity, and patriotism, and ardently desiring unanimity in the District, we make the sacrifice of considerations very interesting to ourselves, to unite our suffrages with those of our Fellow Citizens who wish to support his election.' "]

---

* "At a meeting of a large number of the inhabitants of the town of Newburyport, October 24, 1800, Hon. Judge Bradbury in the chair, Resolved, unanimously, that the inhabitants of this town, now present, will support the choice of Rev. Manasseh Cutler, of Hamilton, as Representative for the Fourth Middle District in the next Congress, at the approaching election."

Nov. 11, *Tues.* Went to Boston. Attended General Court. The gentlemen from Ipswich secured me a front seat next to them.

Nov. 12, *Wed.* Governor met the two Houses at 12 o'clock. Elected a Senator for the Commonwealth. Caucus at Mr. Lowell's. Dined with him. At the caucus were 28 gentlemen of both houses, and one or more from each district in the Commonwealth. Voted a list of Electors, and made other arrangements. Voted, that each person present prepare thirty copies of the list, and distribute them to-morrow at 9 o'clock, in the Court House. I sat up till after 2 o'clock to prepare votes.

Nov. 13, *Thurs.* This day 16 Electors of President and Vice-President of the U. S. were chosen in convention of the two Houses. The list we prepared the last evening was carried in every instance with a handsome majority the first trial. Went out to Dorchester, and lodged at Mr. Oliver Everett's.

Nov. 14, *Fri.* Attended the House. At 4 o'clock Mr. Jonathan Mason, of Boston, was elected member of the Senate of the United States, vice Mr. Goodhue, resigned. The Senate had elected Judge Sewall, but afterward concurred with the House.

Nov. 15, *Sat.* At 12, chose Mr. Codman Senator for this Commonwealth. Obtained leave of absence, and pay, 18 Dols. Came home.

Dec. 26, *Fri.* We went to Salem, and dined with Mr. Berry. Afternoon, at Dr. Barnard's. Spent part of the evening at Dr. Prince's, viewing curiosities. We then attended a political club at Mr. Putnam's, the lawyer. Present: Messrs. Prescott, Bancroft, Pitman, Haskett Derby, and Dr. Little. Supped, and returned to Mr. Berry's.

CHAPTER XIV.

FIRST SESSION IN CONGRESS—LETTERS TO HIS FAMILY AND DR. DANA FROM WASHINGTON—VISITS MT. VERNON—DEBATE ON JUDICIARY BILL.

[*To Ephraim Cutler.*]

BEVERLY, *March* 21, 1801.

My Son:— . . With regard to my being elected a member of Congress, I wrote you from Boston in February. I was fully aware that in the highest probability very trying times were approaching, and that a seat in Congress, to a Federalist, must be extremely unpleasant if not hazardous. The state of the district, the proceedings of some of the towns before I had an intimation or the most distant idea of being thought of as a candidate, and the pressing requests of friends whom I highly respected, imposed the necessity of not absolutely declining. I was urged not to say I would not go until the first trial was made. It was believed by our first characters that such exertion had been made and such influence obtained before it was mistrusted by the Federalists, that Dr. Kittredge * would be chosen. He is a man of abilities, possessed of highly popular talents, well known and very highly esteemed as one of the first physicians and surgeons in the State. Though a high Jacobin at heart, yet apparently a moderate man. Besides, six other candidates were brought forward in the papers, and by private influence, who professed to be Federal. Thus circumstanced, I felt less reluctance in complying with the wishes of my friends—feeling assured that I should not be chosen. The event proving as it did, and there appearing no prospect of a union on either of the other candidates, I was, in a sense, compelled to consent.

---

* Thomas Kittredge, M.D. (H. U., 1811), an eminent surgeon; born, Andover, July, 1746; died, Oct., 1818. His father and brothers were distinguished surgeons. After receiving instruction from Master Moody, at Byfield Academy, he studied medicine with Dr. Sawyer, of Newburyport; began to practice in Andover in 1768, and being in 1775 appointed surgeon to the regiment of Colonel James Frye, was present at the battle of Bunker Hill. Dr. K. had an extensive practice, was an early member of the Massachusetts Medical Society, and was in the legislature several years and in the council in 1810–11.—*Drake's Dict. of Am. Biog.*

What events are to follow the *new order of things* time will disclose. Jefferson's speech, though a mixed medley of Jacobinism, Republicanism, and Federalism, of religion and atheism, of sentiments consistent and inconsistent with the constitution of an energetic government, yet it is extremely smooth, and must be highly popular with the people at large. There is a fair opening, and I think a hope, that he may prove a prudent man, and, though the next Congress will have a majority of Jacobins, the administration may not be greatly changed. I did wish that Burr might be elected, I now think it fortunate that Jefferson is chosen. If he pursues a wise and prudent tone of conduct, he will have a hornet's nest of Jacobins about his ears, and be stung by the insects he has been so long hatching. He will never make a Bonaparte; but Burr's unbounded ambition, courage, and perseverance would prompt him to be a Bonaparte, a King, and an Emperor, or any thing else which might place him at the head of the nation. Nothing but a revolution can effect this, and nothing will produce a revolution at present unless Jefferson abandons the Federalists, and pursues all the wild, demoralizing schemes of the Jacobins. I spent a considerable time lately with Timothy Pickering, Esq.* It is his decided opinion, who knows

---

* Timothy Pickering was born in Salem, Massachusetts, 1745, died there, 1829. He graduated at Harvard, 1763, and commenced the practice of law in 1768. He took an active part in politics prior to the Revolution, wrote and delivered the address of the people of Salem to Governor Gage on the Boston Port bill. He was Colonel of the Salem militia regiment, and marched four companies of it in pursuit of the British troops returning from Lexington. Upon the organization of the provincial government of Massachusetts, he was appointed one of the Judges of the Court of Common Pleas for Essex County, and sole Judge of the Maritime Court for the Middle District, including Boston, Salem, and other ports in Essex County. In 1776 he recruited a regiment for one year's service in the Continental Army. When mustered out he was appointed, by request of General Washington, Adjutant-General of the army, with the rank of Colonel. The same year,

Jefferson well, that he will make no great strides from the old administration, and will look more to the Federalists than to Jacobins for his support.

Your affectionate Parent,

M. Cutler.

It was during the first year of President Jefferson's administration that Dr. Cutler entered Congress, where he continued four years, and then, because of long-continued and increasing ill-health, he declined a re-election. The account of this period, with its many interesting details, in the following pages, is taken from his diary, and from letters written to his own family, or to intimate friends, in which much freedom of ex-

---

1777, he was elected by Congress a member of the Continental Board of War. In 1780 he succeeded General Nathaniel Greene as Quartermaster General. At the close of the war, in 1783, he formulated a plan for the establishment of a new state west of the Alleghanies, in what is now the eastern half of Ohio, by officers and soldiers of the Continental Army, and outlined a government for it, an essential part of which was the total and irrevocable prohibition of slavery. He continued to interest himself in it until 1785, when he purchased a large tract of land in Pennsylvania, and removed to it. He held various public offices in Pennsylvania, and was appointed by President Washington, 1790 to 1794, to negotiate treaties with the Indians. In 1791 he was appointed Postmaster-General. In 1794 he succeeded General Knox as Secretary of War, and in August, 1795, was appointed Secretary of State, continuing in this office until removed by President Adams in 1800. Returning to Massachusetts, in 1801, he was elected United States Senator in 1803, for the unexpired term of Dwight Foster, and re-elected in 1805 for a full term. He was a member of the Board of War for Massachusetts, 1812 to 1815, and served one term in Congress, 1815 to 1817. Timothy Pickering was one of the greatest of the great men who were in public life in the early days of the nation. His true place in history has never been given him. The following extract from the inscription on his monument in Salem, Massachusetts, indicates the esteem in which he was held by those who knew him best: "Integrity, disinterestedness, energy, ability, fearlessness in the cause of Truth and Justice, marked his public conduct; pure in morals, simple in manners, sincere, benevolent, and pious in private life, he was revered and honored." His life, one volume, prepared by his son, Octavius Pickering, and three volumes by Hon. Charles W. Upham, was published in 1867 and 1873.

pression is indulged. They indicate a time of great political agitation, and show the writer's earnest and patriotic desire to see the government established on safe foundations. His habits of close observation, and facility in description, enable him to give some graphic sketches of men and passing events.

WASHINGTON CITY, *Dec.* 5, 1801.

REV. DR. DANA.*

Dear Sir:—We arrived in this city on Wednesday evening. Many of the members from different parts of the Union were in before us, but we were not so happy as to find a single man who was not strongly attached to the present administration. From them little information is to be obtained. Few Federalists had arrived this morning. It is not in my power to say any thing, with certainty, respecting the leading subjects to be brought forward the present session. Conjecture is alive, and some deep-laid plans, in opposition to the spirit of the constitution, are said to be concerted. In this city, and the adjacent country, the President is highly popular. There is to be no speech at the opening of the session. The flimsy pretense is, that speeches are anti-republican, but the true reason you will easily conceive. It is said the President will have no Levees during the session, which is to be very short; that lengthy reports are to be given from the heads of departments, especially one, that is to astonish the nation, from the Genevan Treasurer; that the principal business of Congress is already cut and dried, and is to be done, not in the tedious and expensive way of long speeches, but in the summary manner of silent voting. From information which, I think, admits of very little doubt, the administration has two leading objects in view—one is to relax, as much as possible, every sinew of government, and the other, to render it popular by the sem-

---

*Joseph Dana, D.D., born at Pomfret, Conn., Nov. 2, 1742; graduated at Yale College, 1760. He was ordained pastor of the South Church, Ipswich, Nov. 5, 1765. He was refined, gentlemanly, pious, and patriotic. His intellectual endowments were of an high order and richly improved; his style strong, lucid, and sententious. Many of his sermons were printed. Harvard College made him a Doctor of Divinity in 1801. He died Nov. 16, 1827.—*Felt's History, Ipswich.*

blance of cheapness. A total change in the Judiciary system is undoubtedly intended. Those who pretend to correct information, say there is to be but one federal court, and that, a mere Court of Chancery, to which appeals may be made from the state courts, where all causes are to originate and pass a legal process, but I will not trouble you with mere conjecture. Your friend and brother,

M. CUTLER.

WASHINGTON CITY, *Dec.* 5, 1801.

DR. TORREY.*

Dear Sir:—I can say but little on the subject of politics, without entering the field of conjecture. The Democrats appear to feel themselves strong—very close-mouthed when with Federalists, and in constant consultation.

We are told by the President's friends, that it is to be a very short session—business to be done in a summary way by giving our silent votes—that it is to consist, principally, not in framing but in repealing laws, which will require very little time. There appears no doubt that the Democrats intend to destroy the present Judiciary system. Many other changes are mentioned, which I will not now enumerate. The great interests of the country appear to be in a more alarming situation than I conceived them to be when I left home. But I am confident there will be an able and determined opposition to the enemies of the Constitution, and, though numbers may overcome, the conquest will not be so easy as seems to be imagined. By accounts this evening, both Houses will be unusually full on Monday. Your affectionate parent,

M. CUTLER.

---

*Joseph Torrey, M.D., born in Killingly, Conn., March 18, 1768. Died at Beverly, Dec. 8, 1850. Married Mary, eldest daughter of Dr. Cutler. He was the fifth in descent from Rev. Samuel Torrey, of Weymouth, who declined the Presidency of Harvard College, and on three occasions preached the Election Sermons. Dr. Torrey's progenitors were distinguished in the medical profession, and he was himself a well known and highly esteemed physician. He began to practice in Rowley, then in Danvers, and, from 1805 to 1840, in Salem, Mass. Mrs. Torrey died at Burlington, Vt., Sept., 1836, while on a visit to her son, Rev. Joseph Torrey, D.D., President of the University of Vermont.

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, *Monday*, *Dec.* 7, 1801.

DR. TORREY.

Dear Sir:—The House is this instant called to order. Votes for Speaker: Mr. Nathaniel Macon, who is chosen, 53; Mr. James A. Bayard, 26; Mr. Samuel Smith (Maryland), 2. Clerk: Mr. Beckley (a red-hot Democrat), 57; Mr. Oswald (the old clerk and a good Federalist), 29. This may perhaps give you a tolerably correct idea of the strength of parties. The Senate have chosen Mr. Abraham Baldwin as President pro tempore. The Vice-President (Aaron Burr) is not arrived, and it is said will not for several weeks. This is no doubt a political maneuver.

Committee for waiting on the President to inform him that the two Houses are organized and ready to enter upon business—from the Senate, Messrs. Anderson and Jackson; from the House, Samuel Smith (Maryland), Griswold and Davis (Ken.)

Mr. Fearing * (delegate from the North-west Territory) is here from Marietta. I have letters from Ephraim [his son]—all well. He is elected a member of the Legislature for the County of Washington, and is now attending their General Assembly.

Your affectionate parent,

M. CUTLER.

---

* Paul Fearing was born in Wareham, Plymouth Co., Mass., Feb. 28, 1762. Graduated at Harvard University in 1785. On the first of May, 1788, he embarked at Boston for Baltimore, where he arrived on the sixteenth of that month. Here he put his trunk into a wagon and commenced the journey across the mountains on foot. He reached Pittsburgh on the tenth of June, and embarked the same day in a boat for Marietta, where he arrived on the sixteenth. On the fourth of July, he participated in the first proceedings had on the bank of the Muskingum in honor of the day, and on the twentieth, listened to the first sermon ever preached in the English tongue north-west of the Ohio (by Rev. William Breck—Exodus 19: 5, 6). When the troops left Fort Harmar, his intimate friend Major Doughty, made him a present of his dwelling-house, a well-finished log-building, standing in the south-west angle of the fort. In 1797, he was appointed Judge of Probate for Washington County. He represented the Territory in Congress from 1801–1803. In 1810, he was appointed Associate Judge of the Court of Common Pleas. In 1814, was appointed Master Commissioner in Chancery. He was one of the first in Ohio who paid attention to the raising of Merino Sheep. In his disposition, Mr. Fear-

WASHINGTON, *Dec.* 8, 1801.

P. S. On the inclosed document [the Message of President Jefferson], I have not time to make any remarks, nor is it necessary. You will instantly see that it contains principles and objects, notwithstanding its popular cast, which must arrest the most serious attention of every thinking American.

With what expedition these Democrats do their business! It was in the press, and probably numbers struck off, before it was communicated to Congress, that numerous copies might be forwarded by this day's mail to every part of the country.

WASHINGTON, *Dec.* 14, 1801.

MAJOR BURNHAM.*

Dear Sir:—The time I have been in the House has not been long enough to form much acquaintance, or obtain much knowledge of individual members. But I have the pleasure of assuring you that the truly republican Federalists, though a minority, possess a full proportion of the ability of the House. Connecticut has, in both Houses, an able and respectable representation. Most of the Federalists from the Middle and Southern States are men of handsome talents. Those from N. Hampshire are good men and true. The decided friends of the Constitution and a free and rational government are: from Vermont, 1; New Hampshire, 4; Connecticut, 7; New York, 3; Pennsylvania, 3; Delaware, 1; Maryland, 3;

---

ing was remarkably cheerful and pleasant. His frank, manly civility and sound discriminating mind made him a favorite with the people, as well as the courts, and he had at his command much of the law business of the country. He had great sympathy for the poor and oppressed, and was ever ready to stretch forth his hand and open his purse for their relief. He died August 21, 1822.—*History of Washington County.*

* Major Thomas Burnham graduated at Harvard College, 1772; was appointed teacher of the Ipswich Grammar School in 1774; continued in that office for five years, when he entered the army, in which he attained the rank of Major. After the peace, he resumed the office of teacher, and kept the school six years, 1786-91; again one year, 1793; and afterward eleven years, 1807-17; in all, twenty-three years.—*New Eng. Gen. and Hist. Register* (*April,* 1852).

Virginia, 1; N. Carolina, 3; S. Carolina, 3; to which we may add, Mass., 6; in the whole, 35.

You will probably hear little from the Federalists for the present. It is a matter of notoriety that the leading Democrats feel much chagrin in not meeting with a virulent opposition. There is nothing they more ardently wish, but they will not be gratified. In every constitutional measure tending to promote the public good, they will find in the minority a cheerful concurrence. When opposition is necessary, it will be on the ground of just principles and fair reasoning, devoid of passion or the spirit of party. Such is the policy which has been proposed, and has met the full approbation of every individual. It is also certain that the Democrats are not agreed among themselves. Several instances have already occurred, in which many of them have voted on the Federal side. But it is unpleasant to know that Virginia has a decided predominancy in the present legislature, and, having all the Democrats subservient to her political views, will give law to the nation. Sincerely, M. CUTLER.

[*Dr. Cutler to his daughter.*]

WASHINGTON, *Dec.* 21, 1801.

My Dear Betsy:— . . . It shall be the subject of this letter to give you some account of my present situation and of occurrences since I left home.

The city of Washington, in point of situation, is much more delightful than I expected to find it. The ground, in general, is elevated, mostly cleared, and commands a pleasing prospect of the Potomac River. The buildings are brick, and erected in what are called large blocks, that is, from two to five or six houses joined together, and appear like one long building. There is one block of seven, another of nine, and one of twenty houses, but they are scattered over a large extent of ground. The block in which I live contains six houses, four stories high, and very handsomely furnished. It is situated east of the Capitol, on the highest ground in the city. Mr. King, our landlord, occupies the south end, only one room in front, which is our parlor for receiving company and dining, and one room back, occupied by Mr. King's family, the kitchen is below. The four chambers are appropriated to the eight gentlemen who board in the family. In each chamber are two narrow field beds and field curtains, with every necessary convenience for the boarders. Mr. Read and myself have, I think, the pleasantest room in the house, or in the whole city. It is in the third story, commanding a delightful prospect of the Capitol, of the President's house, Georgetown, all the houses in the city, a long extent of the river, and the city of Alexandria.

The air is fine, and the weather, since I have been here, remarkably pleasant. I am not much pleased with the Capitol. It is a huge pile, built, indeed, with handsome stone, very heavy in its appearance without, and not very pleasant within. The President's house is superb, well proportioned and pleasingly situated.

But I will hasten to give you a more particular account of our family, which, I presume, will be more interesting to you than the Geography of this District. Mr. King's family consists only of himself, his lady and one daughter, besides the servants, all of whom are black. Mr. King was an officer in the late American Army, much of a gentleman in his manner, social and very obliging. I have seen few women more agreeable than Mrs. King. She almost daily brings to my mind Dr. Lakeman's first wife. She was the daughter of Mr. Harper, a very respectable merchant in Baltimore; has been favored with an excellent education, has been much in the first circles of society in this part of the country, and is in nothing more remarkable than her perfect freedom from stiffness, vanity, or ostentation. Their only daughter, Miss Anna, is about seventeen, well formed, rather tall, small featured, but is considered very handsome. She has been educated at the best schools in Baltimore and Alexandria. She does not converse much, but is very modest and agreeable. She plays with great skill on the Forte Piano, which she always accompanies with a most delightful voice, and is frequently joined in the vocal part by her mother. Mr. King has an excellent Forte Piano, which is connected with an organ placed under it, which she fills and plays with her foot, while her fingers are employed upon the Forte Piano.

The gentlemen, generally, spend a part of two or three evenings in a week in Mr. King's room, where Miss Anna entertains us with delightful music. After we have been fatigued with the harangues of the Hall in the day, and conversing on politics, in different circles (for we talk about nothing else), in the evening, an hour of this music is truly delightful. On Sunday evenings, she constantly plays Psalm tunes, in which her mother, who is a woman of real piety, always joins. We have three gentlemen in the family (General Mattoon, Mr. Smith, and Mr. Perkins) who are good singers and extravagantly fond of music, and always join in the Psalmody. Miss Anna plays Denmark remarkably well, and, when joined with the other singers, it exceeds what I have ever heard before. But the most of the Psalm tunes our gentlemen prefer are the old ones, such as Old Hundred, Canterbury, which you would be delighted to hear on the Forte-Piano, assisted by the organ and accompanied with the voice.

We breakfast at nine, dine between three and four. If we happen to be in the parlor in the first of the evening, at the time Mrs. King makes tea in her own room, she sends in a servant with a salver of tea and coffee and a plate of toast, but we never eat any supper.

I can not conclude without giving you some description of our fellow-lodgers, with whom I enjoy a happiness which I by no means expected. We have Mr. Hillhouse, of New Haven, and Judge Foster, of Brookfield, two of the most sensible and respectable members of the Senate; Mr. Davenport,[*] of Connecticut, who is a deacon and a very pleasant, agreeable man; Mr. Smith,[†] who is the son of a clergyman, of very sprightly

---

[*] John Davenport, lawyer; member of Congress, 1799–1807; born at Stamford, Conn., Jan. 16, 1752; died there, 28th Nov., 1830; Yale College, 1770; Tutor there, 1773; an active Revolutionary patriot and a Major in the Commissary Department.—*History of Stamford.*

[†] John Cotton Smith, born in Sharon, Conn., Feb. 12, 1765; graduated at Yale in 1783. He was a member of the General Assembly in 1793, and from 1796–1800, member of the Lower House; in 1799, was elected Speaker; member of Congress from 1800–1806; again a member of the Legislature, in 1809. He held the several offices of Governor of Connecticut, from 1812–1817, Lieutenant-Governor, and Judge of the Superior Court. He received the degree of LL.D. from Yale; was a member of the Northern Society of Antiquaries in Copenhagen; also

LIBRARY
ILLINOIS.

and distinguished talents; Mr. Perkins,* of New London, a man of very handsome abilities; General Mattoon,† much of a gentleman, facetious; and Mr. Read and myself. It is remarkable that all these gentlemen are professors of religion, and members of the churches to which they respectively belong. An unbecoming word is never uttered by one of them, and the most perfect harmony and friendliness pervades the family.

Colonel Tallmadge came here with the hopes of boarding with us, and tarried two or three days, but, when the other gentlemen came, who had previously applied to Mr. King, he was obliged, much to his regret and mine, to take lodgings in another house.

I must add that I am exceedingly happy with Mr. Read.‡ Were I to have made my choice among all the members of Congress for one to have lived in the same chamber with me, all things considered, I should have chosen Mr. Read. But, after all I have said to you, it is not home, it is not where I wish to be, and I long for the day when I shall set my face eastward, to return to our family.

Your affectionate parent,
M. Cutler.

---

of the Connecticut Historical Society and various religious associations. Died at Sharon, Conn., Nov. 7, 1845.—*Dict. of Congress* (*Lanman*).

[*] Elias Perkins, Representative in Congress from Connecticut from 1801–1803, having graduated at Yale College in 1786. He died in 1845.—*Dict. of Congress* (*Lanman*).

[†] General Mattoon (Ebenezer), Revolutionary officer; born at Amherst, Mass., Aug. 19, 1755; died there, Sept. 11, 1843; grad. Dartmouth College, 1776; from 1797–1816, Major-General of the 4th Division; Adjutant-General of the State, 1816; State Senator, 1795–6; twenty years sheriff of Hampshire; member of Congress, 1801–3. General Mattoon was a scientific and practical farmer.—*Drake's Dict. Amer. Biog.*

[‡] Nathan Read, born in Essex County, Mass., in 1760; graduated at Harvard, 1781; member of Congress from Massachusetts from 1801–3. He was devoted to science, and a petitioner for a patent for an invention before the patent laws were enacted; and before the time of Fulton's experiments, he tried the effect of steam upon a boat in Wenham Pond. He died at Hallowell, Jan. 20, 1849.—*Dict. of Congress* (*Lanman*).

[*From Rev. Dr. Dana to Dr. Cutler.*]

IPSWICH, MASS., *Dec.* 22, 1801.

I think much, and with sincere sympathy, of the disagreeables of a situation where such a strong tide seems to be against you. But I trust that gracious Heaven will never cease to strengthen your heart, and the hearts of all your virtuous companions, and carry you safe. There is yet a great part to be acted for our country, and the sense of an enlightened and virtuous minority, expressed according to the solemnity of the occasion, if it does not prevail within doors, may without.

The message, I think, must have confirmed all the preceding apprehensions. I hope it will arrest the attention of every thinking American. It is indeed very plausible, and will be flattering to many. There is a weak side, by which many are exposed, that whoever holds up the idea of great reforms, great economy, and a lightening of their burdens, may too easily run away with them. Your friend and brother,

J. DANA.

JOURNAL.

Jan. 1, 1802, *Friday.* Although the President has no levees, a number of Federalists agreed to go from the Capitol in coaches to the President's house, and wait upon him, with the compliments of the season. We were received with politeness, entertained with cake and wine. The mammoth cheese * having been presented this morning, the President invited us to go, as he expressed it, "To the mammoth room and see the mammoth cheese." There we viewed this monument of human weakness and folly as long as we pleased, then returned. After taking an early dinner eight of us set out for Mt. Vernon—Mr. Hillhouse, Mr. Davenport, Mr. Smith, General Mattoon, Mr. Perkins, Colonel Tallmadge, Mr. Goddard, and myself. We went in the ferry-boat to Alexandria, and lodged at Gadsby's hotel. This is said to be the first public house in America, and equal to most in Europe. We supped on canvas-back ducks. . . .

---

* When Jefferson was chosen President, Elder John Leland proposed that his flock should celebrate the victory by making for the new Chief Magistrate the biggest cheese the world had ever seen. Every man and woman who owned a cow was to give for this cheese all the milk yielded on a certain day—only no *Federal cow* must contribute a drop. A huge cider-press was fitted up to make it in, and on the appointed day the whole country turned out with pails and tubs of curd, the girls and women in their best gowns and ribbons, and the men in their Sunday coats and clean shirt-collars. The cheese was put to press with prayer, and hymn-singing, and great solemnity. When it was well dried it weighed 1,600 pounds. It was placed on a sleigh, and Elder John Leland drove with it all the way to Washington. It was a journey of three weeks. All the country had heard of the big cheese, and came out to look at it as the Elder drove along.

Jan. 2, Saturday. Set out for Mt. Vernon in two coaches at seven, arrived at nine. We were cordially received and politely entertained by Mrs. Washington. After breakfast we rambled over the gardens, shrubberies, etc. . . . She urged us to stay and dine, but we returned, and dined at Gadsby's, and came home in the evening. In a letter to his daughter Doctor Cutler writes of this visit: "We left this city about one (eight of us in number); it being a perfect calm, we did not arrive at Alexandria until some time in the evening. Two coaches were ordered to be ready at six in the morning, with the view of arriving at Mt. Vernon at eight, sufficiently early to breakfast with Madam Washington. We rose at four, and were dressed for our visit before the daylight appeared, but by an unfortunate blunder in the servants the coaches were not at the door until almost seven. The distance is only nine miles, which might then have been traveled in season, had not the road proved amazingly bad, and our horses still worse. We did not arrive until after ten. After leaving Alexandria about three miles, we entered a woodland, which continued, with the exception of a few openings of cultivated fields, until we came within about a quarter of a mile of the mansion-house on Mt. Vernon. As the road goes out of the woods, which consist of tall and beautiful forests, variegated with all the different kinds of trees, native in this part of the country, it passes by a gate, where we leave the road and pass through the gate nearly at right-angles, and enter an open pasture. On passing through the gate, which stands on an eminence, we at once, and very abruptly, come in full view of the house, on the side back from the river. It appears on an eminence, not like a hill, but a level ground, with a pretty deep valley between, covered with woods and bushes of different kinds, which conceal the winding passage from the gate to the house. . . . In this situation the house, with two ranges of small buildings extending in a curved form, from near the corners of the house, till interrupted by the trees, has quite a picturesque appearance, and the effect is much heightened by coming out of a thick wood, and the sudden and unexpected manner in which it is seen. . . . When our coaches entered the yard, a number of servants immediately attended, and when we had all stepped out of our carriages a servant conducted us to Madam Washington's room, where we were introduced by Mr. Hillhouse, and received in a very cordial and obliging manner. Mrs. Washington was sitting in rather a small room, with three ladies (grand-daughters), one of whom is married to a Mr. Lewis, and has two fine children; the other two are single. Mrs. Washington appears much older than when I saw her last at Philadelphia, but her countenance very little wrinkled and remarkably fair for a person of her years. She conversed with great ease and familiarity, and appeared as much rejoiced at receiving our visit as if we had been of her nearest connections. She regretted that we had not arrived sooner, for she always breakfasted at seven, but our breakfast would be ready in a few minutes. In a short time she rose, and desired us to walk into another room, where a table was elegantly spread with ham, cold corn-beef, cold fowl, red-herring, and cold mutton, the dishes ornamented with sprigs of parsley and other vegetables from the garden. At the head of the table was the tea and coffee equipage, where she seated herself, and sent the tea and coffee to the company. We were all Federalists, which evidently gave her particular pleasure. Her remarks were frequently pointed, and sometimes very sarcastic, on the new order of things and the present administration. She spoke of the election of Mr. Jefferson, whom she considered as one of the most detestable of mankind, as the greatest misfortune our country had ever experienced. Her unfriendly feelings toward him were naturally to be expected, from the abuse he has offered to General Washington, while living, and to his memory since his decease. She frequently spoke of the General with great affection, viewing herself as left alone, and her life protracted, until she had become a stranger in the world. She repeatedly remarked the distinguished mercies heaven still bestowed upon her, for which she had daily cause of gratitude, but she longed for the time to follow her departed friend.

After breakfast we rambled about the house and gardens, which were not in so high a style as I expected to have found them. The house stands on an elevated level, is two stories high, with a piazza in front, supported by a row of pillars on the side toward the river, and is about five or six rods from a steep bank descending to the edge of the water. The river is wide, and affords a most delightful prospect far distant up and down the stream, as well as beyond the opposite shore. But the whole country appears to be an extended woods, with very few houses or cultivated fields in any direction. In front of the house is a grass plot, with trees on each side, and inclosed with a circular ditch. On the right is an orchard, consisting principally of large cherry and peach trees. At the bottom of this orchard, and nearly opposite the eastern end of the house, is the venerable tomb, which contains the remains of the great Washington. This precious monument was the first object of our attention. I will not attempt to describe our feelings, or the solemn gloom on every countenance, as we approached the revered mound of earth. It is the sepulcher of of the Washington family, where many of the ancestors of the General are deposited. Situated at the extremity of the grass plot, and on the edge of the bank, it is not seen until you approach near to it. The mound of earth is not much elevated, and is covered over with a growth of cypress trees, a few junipers, and near it the ever-green holly tree, which conceals it from the view until you come almost to it. The side of the steep bank to the river is covered with a thicket of forest trees in its whole extent within view of the house. The tomb opens nearly toward the river, at an upright door, which was locked, and all the stone work is covered with earth, overgrown with tall grass and these trees, which appear to have been planted, except at the sides and over the cap of the door. Between the tomb and the bank, a narrow foot-path, much trodden, and shaded with trees, passes round it. Here Mrs. Washington, in gloomy solitude, often takes her melancholy walks. Here every visitor, in slow and solemn steps, approaches this venerable mound. We all of us took boughs from the trees as precious relics of our own and our country's best friend. I shall inclose a twig of the cypress, and a leaf of the holly, from this ever to be revered mound of earth. After we had taken a melancholy leave of the tomb, we rambled over the gardens and shrubbery, which discovered much taste and neatness of design in its former owner. . . . I collected a quantity of seeds, which I shall forward by water. . . .

Mrs. Washington urged us to tarry to dine, but we were obliged to return to Washington. She was likewise pressing in her invitation to make her another visit before the close of the session, and was so complaisant as to assure me, after offering any of the shrubbery or young trees, if I would come again toward the spring I should find a very different appearance, and be furnished with whatever I wished to send home.

We tarried till about half after two, and then took our leave. I must acknowledge that I am deeply in debt to the Doctor for kind letters. . . . With my affectionate regards to him, and love to the children, be assured that I am your tender parent,

M. CUTLER."

Jan. 3, 1802, *Sunday*. The two Houses of Congress were insulted by the introduction of Leland,* the Cheese monger, as a preacher, . . . text, "And behold a greater than Solomon is here." Jefferson was present; the allusion was intended and obliquely directed more to him than the glorious Christ to whom the text refers. . . . His first observation was: "Solomon was born with a silver spoon in his mouth, and a scepter in his hand."

---

* John Leland, clergyman; born at Grafton, Mass., May 14, 1754; died at North Adams, Mass., January 14, 1841. A Baptist preacher in Virginia in 1775–91. From 1792, until his death, he was settled in Cheshire, Mass. His literary productions, including essays, etc., published in 1845. He was a man of great eccentricity and shrewdness, and a zealous Democrat. In the latter part of 1801 he went to Washington to present to Mr. Jefferson a mammoth cheese, weighing 1,450 pounds, as a testimonial of the esteem and confidence of the people of Cheshire in the new chief magistrate.—*Drake's Dict. Am. Biog.*

Jan. 4, *Monday.* Apportionment bill before the House; long debate; sat late.

Jan. 5, *Tuesday.* In Committee of the whole on same. Debates long, warm, and acrimonious. Sat till dark. Committee rose and reported.

Jan. 6, *Wednesday.* On the question of recommitment, debates still more acrimonious and personal. Political parties took their ground. Sat late. Vote 55 and 34, yeas and nays; not carried. Bill accepted.

Jan. 7, *Thursday.* Sore throat; did not go out.

Jan. 8, *Friday.* Mr. Governeur Morris* delivered in the Senate a truly Ciceronian phillipic on the repeal of the Judiciary.

Jan. 9, *Saturday.* Spent the day in writing letters.

Jan. 10, *Lord's Day.* Mr. Austin preached a flighty sermon in the Hall.

Jan. 11, *Monday.* Fine day. Nothing very special.

Jan. 12, *Tuesday.* An attempt to refer the duty on Salt to the Com. of Ways and Means; not obtained.

Jan. 13, *Wednesday.* Went with Messrs. Hillhouse, Foster, Read, and Perkins, to wait on the Vice-President, Burr, to pay our respects on his arrival in the city. Letters from Mr. Bartlett, Dr. Torrey and wife.

Jan. 14, *Thursday.* Judiciary bill before the Senate.

---

* Governeur Morris, statesman and orator; born, Morrisania, N. Y., Jan. 31, 1752; died, Nov. 6, 1816. King's College, 1768. Son of Lewis Morris (signer of Declaration of Independence). Member of Continental Congress, 1777–80. In July, 1780, he was colleague of Robert Morris, as Assistant Superintendent of Finance. He was one of the Committee who drafted the Federal Constitution in the Convention of 1787, In 1788–91, he was in France, occupied in selling land. Minister to France, 1792 to October, 1794. Was United States Senator, 1800–3; acting with the Federalists, and actively opposing the abolition of the judiciary system, in 1802, in speeches of great ability. He was prominent in the great canal project of New York. Passed his latter years in munificent hospitality.—*Drake's Dict. Am. Biog.*

Jan. 15, *Friday.* Still in Senate. Nothing very interesting in the House. Mr. Read and I found the length of the Capitol, from N.E. corner to S.E., one hundred and twenty paces; the N. end, forty paces; making the end 8 rods, and the front 24 rods—covering more than one acre of ground. But this includes the central area in part; but the part connecting the wings projects back beyond the line of the opposite side, drawn from the two external corners.

Miss Anna gave us some good music this evening, particularly the "Way-worn Traveler," "Ma Chere Amie," "The Tea," "The Twins of Latona" (somewhat similar to "Indian Chief"), "Eliza," "Lucy, or Selim's Complaint." These are among my favorites. But "Denmark," "Old Hundred," "St. Martins," and several other old tunes, she plays incomparably well. The foot organ is a prodigious addition to Forte-Pianos. . . .

Jan. 16, *Saturday.* No session.

Jan. 17, *Sunday.* At the Hall. Chaplain Parkinson preached. . . .

Jan. 18, *Monday.* Little done in the House. Walked to Georgetown. Spent part of the evening at Mr. Balch's.

Jan. 19, *Tuesday.* . . . Little done in the House. Report for repeal of Judiciary in the Senate.

Jan. 20, *Wednesday.* Not much done in House. Mr. Balch, of Georgetown, dined with us.

Jan. 21, *Thursday.* Attempts to bring forward a motion to inquire whether it be expedient to reduce duties on Bohea Tea, Brown Sugar, and Coffee—to no effect.

Jan. 22, *Friday.* Very little done. Adjourned to Monday.

Jan. 23, *Saturday.* Wrote letters. Delivered Spofford's papers to Clerk of the Court, Mr. Forsyth. Obtained an order or a check on the bank at the Treasury office for $230, and in cash, $10. . . .

Jan. 24, *Lord's Day.* Preaching very indifferent in the Hall, by Mr. Parkinson. Few members of Congress, many ladies, and full gallery.

Jan. 25, *Monday.* Question to inquire into the expenditures in collecting each duty of the internal tax—Yeas and Nays, lost—Salt, loaf Sugar, Tea, and Coffee. The Demos all silent; not a word from their side of the House on any of the questions, nor a word offered in answer to any on our side. Thus business goes much against us.

Jan. 26, *Tuesday*. Weather still very fine.

Jan. 27, *Wednesday*. House passed several bills. Thermometer, 58°.

Jan. 28. Ther., 65°. . . .

Jan. 29, *Friday*. Ther., at sunrise, 60°.

Jan. 30, *Saturday*. Went early in the morning to Georgetown, where Mr. Frank Dodge, Mr. Tenney, and myself, took horses, and went up to the great falls, about 12 miles. Visited on our way the cannon foundry; saw them boring the solid cast-iron cannon. Viewed the locks at the lower falls, where the boats pass with ease. The canal is about 2 miles in length. Passed the great bridge, which is a very handsome one, and well built, in the form of the bridge over the Merrimac above Newburyport. The river very narrow near and at the bridge, but said to be deep. Arrived at the great falls, and put up at Mr. Myers'. The appearance of the river is singular; filled with rocks about three-fourths mile—no large cataracts, but frequent falls, and brought into a narrow bed with high rocky banks at the locks. At the lower locks, appeared about 40 feet wide; said to be 35 feet deep. The work of the locks, 6 in number, very neat. The lower lock cut through a solid rock, by blowing, about 47 feet deep and 12 feet wide. The water was to have passed this day; but, not being quite completed, is to be opened for the passage of boats on Tuesday. The canal is three-fourths of a mile. It is a place capable of much business by water-works, but indolence reigns, and the country through which we passed the picture of laziness, negligence, and poverty. Old fields and woods. Returned.

Jan. 31, *Sunday*. Attended Mr. McCormick in the Capitol. Preached a pretty good sermon on forbearance.

WASHINGTON *Jan.* 4, 1802.

REV. DR. DANA.

Dear Sir:— . . . Some trying questions have been agitated. An attempt to appoint Duane the printer of the House, and to constitute him an officer of government with a salary, was as much a trial of the strength of parties as any thing which has yet taken place. Though a majority in this instance was on the right side, it affords no ground of dependence in future. This day the Judiciary business was broached for the first time in both Houses. . . . The Judiciary system was formed with much deliberation and wisdom, and when viewed in all its parts and relations, is perhaps as good a one as can be expected. It costs only 30,000 dollars per annum to support the Judiciary in all its branches, and gentlemen of the law say, it appears by the document on our table that the quantum of business is far greater than they had conceived. But the objection is not to the system, as such, but to its independence. The blow will be directed to the foundation of this bulwark of our liberties—of equal and impartial justice—of our lives and property. Of what value will be our Constitution, when this vital principle is destroyed—the independence of the judges? When they become the creatures of the Executive, or of the Legislature, or of the combined powers of government, they will become the sport of caprice and the spirit of party. As the Senate are more obsequious to the views of the Executive than the House, the business goes through the ordeal of that body first, and notice was given this day that a motion for leave to bring in a bill for the repeal of the last Judiciary laws, and certain clauses in all preceding laws made under the present government, on the day after to-morrow. My dear sir, this is a trying moment. How seriously critical and alarming is the state of our country! How extremely difficult to awaken the attention of the people! May kind Heaven interpose, as in time past, in the hour of extremity! How necessary the exertions and prayers of all good men!

The friends of the Constitution find that they have a very critical and delicate part to act. If they meet their opponents upon the ground of fair reasoning, and dispute them inch by inch, it will probably be the thing they wish for; it will afford them opportunity for displaying themselves in long speeches, which they can give to the public under advantages denied to the other party, who have no Federal stenographer on the floor. Speeches from Democratic members generally appear with a much better grace in the papers than when spoken, and some that might have been intended, but never were spoken.* On the other hand, the Federalists find their speeches mutilated, deranged, often wholly omitted, and made to say things never intended nor uttered. It is a fact, which the more candid Democrats do not hesitate to acknowledge, that much the largest portion of the ability of this House is on the Federal side. Were there printers in this city, as there are in Philadelphia, the public might derive much information, and form correct opinions, from the debates. But as the case is, little can be done. Little is to be hoped for, unless something different from the present mode of proceeding can be adopted. Some very respectable characters have proposed, when these alarming subjects are brought forward, there should be perfect silence on the Federal side. Let the Democrats go the lengths they wish, without throwing obstacles in their way, any further than giving a negative vote; and let a protest, clearly stating the reasons which influenced the conduct of the Federalists, and which will place this subject in the clearest and most impressive points of light, be signed by all the Federal party. Though it would not be admitted on the journals of the House, it may be spread in sufficient numbers among the people, and have a better effect than the newspaper publication of debates. Consultations are daily held, but no particular measures are yet adopted. . . .

Your friend and brother, M. Cutler.

Washington, *Jan.* 4, 1802.

Dr. Torrey.

Dear Sir:— . . . You very justly remark that the address is intended to secure popularity. But this is not all. The popular parts conceal from the unthinking and unsuspicious insidious strokes at the vitals of the Constitution, as well as measures hostile to the existence of the government.

---

* Washington, *Feb.* 10, 1802.

There is a secret about the newspaper reports which you ought to know. Many things are told there which never happen. Speeches are printed as made which never were made. Many speeches actually made never appear. According to the temper, humor, and party of the editor, debates are mutilated, garbled, and perverted.—*Dr. Mitchell's Letters*, 1801–1813 (*in Harper's Monthly, April*, 1879).

You would be ready to doubt my veracity, were I to recite to you the debasing methods which are pursued here and in this part of the country to gain the applause of the multitude. The low popularity which is so assiduously courted must be of short duration, without some solid ground for its support, and ought not to excite any serious apprehension, were it not for the destructive measures which in the meantime are to be accomplished.

Since the commencement of the session very little business has been done. Much good humor has apparently prevailed, and, contrary to the policy intended to have been pursued, mere necessity has compelled the friends of the government to take the lead and the management of business very much upon themselves. But the ball is now beginning to open. Some trying questions have been agitated. This day the Judiciary business has been broached in both Houses. What form it will assume, and what turns and twists it may undergo, it is impossible to say. The plan, in its full extent, is unknown, and will be varied, whatever it is, as strength and other circumstances may dictate. It is, in itself, a subject of the most serious and interesting nature, and the more so, because the people generally, and a large proportion of the well informed, will not see the fatal consequences. The Judiciary is not a subordinate but a co-ordinate part of the government; it is the great barrier between the government and the people; it is the bulwark of our liberties, the vital principle of our Constitution, and it is, by that instrument, as carefully and fully secured as, perhaps, it was possible to do on paper. If the intentions of the party are effected, of which I think there is no doubt, the Constitution is gone. As the Senate, very unfortunately, is more subservient to the views of the Executive than the House, it is to go through its first ordeal in that branch.

The situation of our country is, my friend, at this moment, extremely critical and alarming. May kind Heaven interpose, as in time past, in the hour of extremity. With regard to internal taxes, it is impossible to form any opinion of what will be done. Gallatin has expressed himself to some of the Federalists rather doubtful about the expediency of abolishing them, but with what views is very uncertain. There are two objects in view—one is to attack the funded debt, and the other, a direct tax upon the people; but they find much caution and contrivance necessary to accomplish them. At this session nothing more than some preparatory steps is expected.

The tales that are told about a cheap government and the retrenching of expenses are perfectly idle. I believe, upon evidence which appears to me conclusive, that greater sums of public money have been unnecessarily and foolishly lavished away since the 4th of March than during the preceding twelve years' administration. Much has been said about a short session, but it is the opinion of the best judges, that the business which ought to be done this session would not be completed, if we were to sit till June. It is, however, my present opinion, that on principles of popularity the adjournment will take place the last of February or the first of March, whatever may be the state of business.

Many of our friends at the eastward have hoped that much information would be given to the people from the Federal debates in Congress. Undoubtedly, the first characters for real ability and talent in public speaking are on their side. Though their number is so small, they abound with good speakers. A very great proportion of their best speakers have not yet opened their mouths on the floor.

On the other side, there are only two who deserve the name of speakers. Eustis, of Boston, has been forward, but extremely awkward and blundering. Bacon is often up, chopping his logic, but never without exciting ridicule. Notwithstanding, the hopes of our friends must be disappointed, for the man who takes down the debates is a flaming Democrat, and the speeches of the Federalists are either omitted or strangely mutilated, while those on the other side are corrected, amended, and in some instances nearly fabricated. Under the new order of things, there are no Levees, but the members are invited to dine with the President in rotation, and what is strange (if any thing done here can be strange), only Federalists or only Democrats are invited at the same time. The number in a day is generally eight, and when the Federalists are invited, there is one of the heads of Departments, which makes nine. Mr. Read and myself were honored with a pretty early invitation. I believe about a fortnight ago. Generals Shepard and Wadsworth* (of Mass.), General Morris (of Vt.), Mr. Morris and Van Rensselaer† (N. Y.), and Mr. Hill (N. Carolina), were our company. All decided Federalists. We enjoyed ourselves very well; were social, and handsomely received and entertained. On New Year's day, a number of the Federalists were determined to keep up the old custom, though contrary to what was intended, of waiting on the President, with the compliments of the season. We went at eleven, were tolerably received, and treated with cake and wine. We had, likewise, the honor of viewing the mammoth cheese. It had, a little before, on this morning, been presented with all the parade of Democratic etiquette. The President invited us to "Go into the mammoth room to see the mammoth cheese." Last Sunday, Leland, the cheesemonger, a poor, ignorant, illiterate, clownish preacher (who was the conductor of this monument of human weakness and folly to the place of its destination), was introduced as the preacher to both Houses of Congress, and a great number of gentlemen and ladies from I know not where. The President, contrary to all former practice, made one of the audience. Such a performance I never heard before, and I hope never shall again. The text was, "And behold a greater than Solomon is here." The design of the preacher was principally to apply the allusion, not to the person intended in the text, but to *him* who was then present. Such a farrago, bawled with stunning voice, horrid tone, frightful grimaces, and extravagant gestures, I believe, was never heard by any decent auditory before. Shame or laughter appeared in every countenance. Such an outrage upon religion, the Sabbath, and common decency, was extremely painful to every sober, thinking person present. But it answered the much-wished-for purpose of the Democrats, to see religion exhibited in the most ridiculous manner. On Friday last, Messrs. Hillhouse, Davenport, J. C. Smith, Mattoon, Perkins, Tallmadge, and Goddard, and myself, made a visit to Mount Vernon, to pay our respects to Mrs. Washington. We were received in the most polite and cordial manner, and handsomely entertained. She appeared in good health, but like one who has sustained a loss that will always remain fresh in her mind. She spoke of the General with great affection, and observed that, though she had many favors and mercies, for which she desired to bless God, she felt as if she was become a stranger among her friends, and could welcome the time when she should be called to follow her deceased friend.

---

* Major-General Peleg Wadsworth, born, Duxbury, Mass., May 6, 1748; died at Hiram, Maine, November 18, 1829; Harvard University, 1769. Joined the Revolutionary Army as Captain of minute men at Roxbury; Aide to General Ward, and afterward Adjutant-General for Massachusetts. Was Brigadier-General of Militia in 1777. In 1792, he was elected State Senator; was member of Congress in 1792–1806. His son, Lieutenant Henry Wadsworth, U. S. N., distinguished in the Tripolitan war, died off Tripoli, September 4, 1804, aged 19, by the explosion of a fire ship.—*Drake's Dict. Am. Biog.*

† William Van Rensselaer was born in 1763; was a member of Congress from New York from 1801 to 1811, after which he retired to private life, and died in New York City, June 18, 1845.

My time has lately been so occupied, that it has not been in my power to write so frequently to my friends as I have wished. Some matters before Congress, respecting navigation, have rendered it necessary to write repeatedly to commercial gentlemen for particular information. But, particularly, much time has been employed, and must still be, as one of the committee for investigating the expenditures, appropriations, and accounts of the heads of Departments, foreign ministers, and other public officers, since the establishment of the present government. An intention to stigmatize the character of Mr. Pickering has occasioned the appointment of this committee. You will see, by the debates, that Mr. Nicholson originated the motion.

The business has taken a turn very different from what was intended, or was even apprehended. The motion, instead of being confined to Mr. Pickering, has been extended to all the heads of Departments, and, as far as the investigation has gone, there is ground to believe defaults will be found, and to a large amount, where there was no apprehension, and wholly on the side of the party who have brought this business forward. But I am not at liberty to mention any particulars until the investigation is completed. . . .

Your affectionate parent,
M. Cutler.

Washington, *Jan.* 26, 1802.

Dr. Dana.

Dear Sir:— . . . The 10th No. of the *Farmer* has come to me in the Boston papers, and we are pleased to find it followed by the able pen of *Sulpicius*. So far as I can learn, the Farmer's numbers have not been published in the papers of any description on this side of N. England, excepting in the Aurora, and some extracts of the 10th No., not relating to the clergy, in the Washington Federalist. These extracts are followed with comments by some writer here. The same kind of mania which the Farmer has discovered in his numbers still rages upon him now he is here. Of all the opposers of Federalism, he is the most virulent, and no doubt can be entertained of a perfectly good understanding between him and his Master in all his measures to support the present administration. The little regard paid to religion among the southern democrats, and the clergy having no kind of influence, may be a reason why the 10th No. has not been published in the southern papers. In speaking of the clergy as wholly destitute of influence, those of the cities of New York and Philadelphia are to be excepted. Among the democrats of Congress it is a prevailing opinion that the people of the New England states are governed by their clergy, whom they consider as aristocrats, and affect to lament the unhappy state in which those people will continue to be until that influence is destroyed. In a word, every thing, they pretend to believe, which is opposed to the prevalence of *Godwinism*, is friendly to aristocracy.

Immediately on receiving your queries, I put them in the hands of Mr. Hillhouse, of our family, who, . . . having been longer in Congress than any present member of the Senate, has, I believe, a better knowledge of the political character of the man whose conduct is to be investigated. He feels no hesitation in answering every query, but many of them are of a nature which will not admit that the answers should be substantiated by specific facts, as is the case with many well-founded historical relations. But he is disposed to afford his aid in collecting such facts, and other material, as can be obtained. I have since put the queries into the hands of Mr. Tracy, who told me this morning he should be able to afford much information, which he was arranging, and would call in a day or two and furnish me with it. I had only a few words with him as we were going into Congress. There are papers in the hands of the Secretary of the Senate that may be useful, to which I can have access, but have not yet found leisure to examine them. Being one of a Committee appointed in consequence of a motion respecting Mr. Pickering, to "inquire whether moneys drawn from the Treasury have been faithfully applied and accounted for," etc., I think there is a probability in the course of this business, in which many of the books and papers of the Heads of Departments must be examined, that I may find some documents relating to the queries. Mr. Griswold is on the Committee, to whom I can, with safety, communicate my wishes and obtain his assistance. Mr. Giles, who is of the Committee, has been absent several weeks, which has prevented much progress. But I am not without fears that the opportunity may be prevented, by a determination of the Committee not to pursue the object of their commission. At our last meeting sufficient information was obtained perfectly to exculpate Mr. Pickering, but from strong suspicion of other defaulters, and men of another party, there appeared a disposition to suspend inquiry.

Unfortunately, the spirit of party and the majority in Committee is the same as in the House. Mr. Nicholson, Giles, and Dickeson were one side, and Mr. Griswold and myself on the other, in every question we discussed. It will be in the power of the majority to close the inquiry when they please. There is a hope, however, that it will be pursued.

The Bill before the Senate for repealing the judiciary laws (which were enacted by the last Congress) was this day passed

—yeas, 15; nays, 15—and the Vice-President gave the casting vote in favor of the Bill. When the previous resolution passed, the yeas were 15 and nays 13, but Mr. Ross and Mr. Ogden have since arrived, who complete the full number of Federalists in that House. The Bill has, indeed, to pass a third reading, but it is not usual, nor is it intended, at that time, to make any opposition.

In the House very little business of public importance has been yet done. Much of the last week was taken up with attempts to instruct the Committee of Ways and Means to make particular inquiry whether it be expedient, or not, to reduce the duty on salt, or on brown sugar, bohea tea, and coffee—articles of general consumption among the poorer classes, and on which specific duties are paid much too high for the price they will bear in a time of peace. But not even an inquiry into the expediency could be obtained. Yesterday an attempt was made to call upon the Secretary of the Treasury to lay before the House in detail the expenses of collecting the internal taxes, which has been the great ostensible argument for repealing them, but in vain. Another trial for inquiry, respecting the duties on salt, sugar, tea, and coffee, was made, but failed. The majority are so much Frenchified that, like the silent branch of the French Government, they voted without debating. Several very argumentative and impressive speeches were made by members on our side the House, and the debates occupied nearly the whole day, but not a member on the opposite side opened his mouth, unless in "grinning a horrid smile."

The yeas and nays on all these, and on a great number of other questions, have been taken, but the names have not been permitted, in one instance, to be inserted in the papers. Until it was found that the names could be suppressed, the most forcible argument that could be offered on any question was a call for the vote by yeas and nays, but now even this solitary argument has lost its effect. And within a few days a new mode of giving the debates in the Democratic papers is adopted. Messrs. Duane and Smith are displaying their talents in giving them in *summaries*. You will find the debate on the subjects I have mentioned (probably in your papers) given in this way. The speeches on both sides (when there were such) are named, and some of the arguments, *pro* and *con*, but in a manner totally adverse to the truth. Many of the arguments on our side are mentioned, but a cast is given them which renders them futile, or really favorable to their opponents, while those on the opposite side are exhibited in pointed and popular strains.

From what has passed in the Houses, beyond all doubt, the internal system of taxation will be abolished. A direct tax is talked of, but an increase of duties on imports is, at present, more probable. The Select Committee have this day reported a bill for repealing the former and enacting a new naturalization law. It has not been taken up, but I believe it will fully meet the wishes of Jefferson. When the Judiciary bill comes before our House, it is expected that the majority will give it their silent vote, and not improbably this mode of doing business will prevail throughout the session. "O tempora, O mores!" We are much alarmed at seeing the names of the Committee from the two Houses of Massachusetts, appointed to answer the Governor's speech. Will you write me on this subject? Your friend and brother, M. Cutler.

Feb. 1, *Monday.* Attended Congress. Considerable done.

Feb. 3, *Wednesday.* Question on Judiciary bill taken in the Senate and passed—ayes, 16, nays, 15.

Feb. 4, *Thursday.* Judiciary bill came to our House. Sensible impression made on every countenance when announced, but the feeling of the two sides of the House very different.

Feb. 6, *Saturday.* Dined at the President's—Messrs. Hillhouse, Foster, and Ross, of the Senate; General Bond, Wadsworth, Woods, Hastings, Tenney, Read, and myself. Dinner not as elegant as when we dined before. Rice soup, round of beef, turkey, mutton, ham, loin of veal, cutlets of mutton or veal, fried eggs, fried beef, a pie called macaroni, which appeared to be a rich crust filled with the strillions of onions, or shallots, which I took it to be, tasted very strong, and not agreeable. Mr. Lewis told me there were none in it; it was an Italian dish, and what appeared like onions was made of flour and butter, with a particularly strong liquor mixed with them. Ice-cream very good, crust wholly dried, crumbled into thin flakes; a dish somewhat like a pudding—inside white as milk or curd, very porous and light, covered with cream-sauce—very fine. Many other jimcracks, a great variety of fruit, plenty of wines, and good. President social. We drank tea and viewed again the great cheese.

Feb. 7, *Lord's Day*. Mr. McCormick preached in the Hall.

Feb. 8, *Monday*. Engaged in destroying the Mint. . . . The President sent me Dr. Lettsom's Observations on Cow-pox, with a very polite note.

Feb. 10, *Wednesday*. Motion for repealing the internal system of taxation.

Feb. 11, *Thursday*. Returned the President Dr. Lettsom's Observations on the Cow-pox, with a pretty long billet, acknowledging his politeness, and some remarks on the work.

Feb. 12, *Friday*. Nothing very interesting.

Feb. 13. Making arrangements for the attack on the Judiciary, expected on Monday.

Feb. 14, *Lord's Day*. Mr. Gant preached in the Hall. A very full Assembly. Mr. Jefferson present.

Feb. 20, *Saturday*. On Thursday evening, about 10, Mr. Dayton, going to bed, pulled off a pair of silk stockings, laid his stockings on his slippers at the bedside. He perceived some sparks as he pulled them off. In the morning both stockings were burnt to a cinder, threads appearing to lie in their position in a coil; slippers burnt to a crisp; carpet burnt through and floor to a coal, so as to cause the resin to run. Lay near the bed, and near the curtains. By electrical fluid. Many gentlemen noted the sparkling of their silk stockings as they went to bed. I wore silk stockings that day, but did not notice sparks. The clock (or figured work) of one of the stockings, which was stretched out, was to be seen. Garter under the stocking, end out, was not burnt.*

---

*A very singular occurrence has happened to General Dayton, of Elizabethtown, one of the New Jersey Senators. He pulled off his stockings of silk, under which were another pair of woolen gauze, just as he was going to bed. The former were dropped on the small carpet by the bedside, and the latter were thrown to some distance near its

Dr. Cutler's diary is omitted for the next week. His letters, here given, contain a fuller account of the proceedings in Congress:

WASHINGTON, *Feb.* 1, 1802.

DR. TORREY.

Dear Sir:— . . . I found this morning the sprigs and holly leaf taken as precious relics from the tomb of the great Washington (which I had folded up for the purpose of inclosing them to Mrs. Torrey) were left.

I wrote to her at a very late hour at night, after having been extremely fatigued with business in the evening, and inadvertently sealed the letter without thinking of what I had promised to inclose. Having a number of letters on Saturday morning to put into the box for the mail, I made another mistake, and did not put her letter in with the rest. Last evening I wrote to you, and sent her letter with it to the office. You would not wonder at these mistakes were you sensible of the state of things here, and of some particular business with which, as the member of a committee, I have for some time past been incessantly engaged. In a former letter I observed that you could form no idea of the debates in Congress from the papers. On one side amended, or perhaps new made, on the other, the best parts omitted or altered. Since that time so much complaint has been made, that they have appeared with more correctness. The Federalists in the Senate, when debating on the repeal of the Judiciary, aware of this evil, have taken the precaution, either before or after, to commit their speeches to paper, and they are published, it

---

foot. Electrical snaps and sparks were observed by him to be unusually prevalent when he took off his stockings. He slept until morning, when the silk stockings were found to be converted to coal, having the semblance of sticks and threads, but falling to pieces on being touched. There was not the least cohesion. One of the slippers, which lay under the stockings, was considerably burned. One of the woolen garters was also burned in pieces. The carpet was burned through to the floor, and the floor itself was scorched to charcoal. It was a case of spontaneous combustion—the candle having been carefully put out, and there being very little fire on the hearth, and both of them being eight or more feet from the stockings.—*Dr. Mitchell's Letters from Washington* (*Harper's Monthly, April,* 1879).

is said, with considerable correctness. You will find there has been much able speaking on both sides the question. Mr. G. Morris has shown with distinguished luster. His eloquence has never been surpassed, it is said, in either House of Congress. And perhaps a more interesting subject was never before deliberated by any legislative body in America. The majority in the Senate are impelled by a vindictive, selfish, inflexible spirit, which nothing can resist or moderate. We see how insignificant the best constructed paper Constitution will prove when opposed to the interests and passions of men.

The stroke now aimed at the vital principle, which is the Judiciary branch, should it take effect, will prove that ours is is of very little value.

The security of every political Constitution consists in the moral rectitude and sound principles of those who administer it. When these requisites are so defective as to yield to the accommodations of party views and interests, it is mere delusion to expect Constitutional security. . . .

Your aff. parent,

M. Cutler.

Washington, *Feb.* 4, 1802.

Dr. Dana.

Dear Sir:—I take my pen at this moment just to inform you of the progress of the Judiciary bill in the Senate. . . . On the question for passing the bill to the third reading the yeas were 15 and nays, 15. Of course the Vice-President gave the casting vote, which was in favor of the bill. Every hope of stopping its progress was given up. The next morning, however, very unexpectedly, a motion was brought forward to inquire whether any, and what, amendments were necessary to be made in the Judiciary system of the United States. On the question, yeas, 15, nays, 15. The Vice-President gave the casting vote in favor of it. A committee of five were chosen, three of whom (to the surprise of all) were warm opposers of the bill (Mr. Dayton, Calhoun, and Morris). A glimmer of hope now dawned, but soon vanished. Mr. Bradly, who had been absent, arrived, and Mr. Howard happened to be out of the city. The opportunity was embraced by Mr. Breckenridge for bringing forward a motion to discharge the committee. On taking the question—yeas, 16, nays, 14. The bill, of course, in its original shape, was taken up. Very interesting, warm, and pointed debates followed.

Your friend and brother,
M. CUTLER.

WASHINGTON, *Feb.* 5, 1802.

DR. TORREY:

Dear Sir:—The day before yesterday the Judiciary bill, after a very animated and very pointed debate, continued through a long session, was finished in the Senate. As the sun was setting the question was taken, and the bill passed. Ayes, 16, nays, 15. This circumstance has occasioned an observation, which is much circulated in the city (who are almost all Democrats), that the *Sun in the Heavens*, and the *Constitution of the Country*, went down on that fatal day, at the same moment. The Remonstrance from the Philadelphia lawyers, which seems to have originated with the highest Jacobins in the country, Dallas, McKeen, Smith, and others, and being forwarded by Dallas and McKeen, as the committee, has made more impression on the majority than any thing else. They are evidently alarmed at the rash measures their friends are pursuing here, and think they are going so fast as to defeat their own plans. Have you ever seen the little book called "The Progress of Good Intent?" It has been lately printed in Charleston, Mass., and is a most excellent thing. If you have not seen it, wish you by all means to procure it. It is designed to point out the follies of Jacobinism, and to counteract the wretched effects of Godwinism, which is now prevailing in the country. It will afford you a rich entertainment.

Your affectionate parent,
M. CUTLER.

WASHINGTON, *Feb.* 21, 1802 (*evening*).

TO REV. DR. DANA.

. . . I informed you that the Judiciary bill came to the House, and was made the order of the day for last Monday, the 15th. It was called up on that day immediately after the House came to order.

Mr. Bayard moved that a consideration of it be postponed until the third Monday in March. He urged reasons which were unanswerable, in a speech of considerable length, and the majority evidently intended not to attempt to answer, as appeared by a vociferous call for the question. But they were not able to get rid of the motion so easy. Several members on our side rose and insisted on the right of speaking. At length they were compelled to take a part in the debate, which continued till after 5 P. M. Question by yeas and nays: for the motion, 35; against, 61. Mr. Dennis then moved for postponement for one week, on account of his own ill-health, and that of a number of the members who had very hoarse colds. Yeas and nays as before, excepting that three or four members happened to be out of their seats. The House then (about 6) went into Committee of the Whole. Mr. John C. Smith, of Connecticut (of our family), in the chair. As soon as the bill was read, the Committee rose and the House adjourned. . . . It gives you some idea of the spirit with which this highly interesting business is taken up, and, I believe, the numbers as they will stand on the final decision.

Tuesday, the 16*th.* Gallery and Lobby very full at an early hour. The Senate met and adjourned. Vice-President and members, with a large number of ladies and gentlemen, on the floor of the House. Soon after the House came to order, went into Committee on the bill, and the debates commenced. A solemnity appeared in every part of the Hall worthy of the occasion, and an awe seemed to be impressed upon every countenance. Agreeably to previous arrangement, which was to meet the bill in a direct and dignified manner, Mr. Henderson, of North Carolina, rose and moved to strike out the first section of the bill (which, in technical language, is to try the principle of the bill), and followed his motion with a manly, nervous speech of more than an hour. He was followed by one of his colleagues, Mr. Williams, on the opposite side, a pompous man, but by no means burdened with ability. On this occasion he appeared, perhaps, in part, from embarrassment, smaller than usual. Mr. Hemphill, a new Federal member from Pennsylvania, employed the remainder of the sitting, to a late hour, in a modest, correct, argumentative speech, confined to the most prominent points, free from the asperity of party, and at the close quite impressive. He far exceeded the expectations of his friends, and by many thought to excel any speech made in the Senate. The greatest decorum was preserved through the sitting.

Wednesday, 17*th*. Spectators as yesterday. Mr. Thompson, of Virginia, Mr. Davis, of Kentucky, Mr. Brown, of Mass., followed each other in support of the bill. All of them quite indifferent. Mr. T. Morris, of N. York (a good Federalist and a very sensible man), . . . closed the debate.

Thursday, 18*th*. Mr. Giles[*] rose, and began his speech with an attack upon the late administration; criminated almost every measure and every character concerned in it, on the Federal side; particularly severe on the great Washington; called up to view minute circumstances of the late election of President and Vice-President, and, with pointed severity (naming many persons), condemned the passing the laws now to be repealed. In his rambles, frequently exulted that the time was come to bring to the test, what was called a vital principle of the Constitution, the independence of the Judiciary; boasting that he had been for years studying the subject, and was able to prove the inconsistency and danger of such an independence; but took care to pass over without notice the words of the Constitution, which declare that the "Judges shall hold their office during good behavior," and every argument pertinent to the great point of Constitutionality. He continued his speech until nearly the usual time of adjournment. Some ingenuity was displayed in sophistical reasoning, but more of the virulence of party. He was honored with the reiterated plaudits of his friends, but fell far short of accomplishing as much as his opponents expected. When he sat down, Mr. Randolph rose, a countenance looking much like the bird of wisdom; eulogized the speech, and moved that the Committee and House would then rise, that "*members might retire for reflection, while the deep impressions they must have received were fresh upon their minds.*" It was no sooner said than done.

---

[*] William Branch Giles, born, Amelia Co., Va., August 12, 1762; died at Richmond, December 4, 1830. N. J. Coll., 1781. Admitted to the bar, and practiced at Petersburg about 1790. Embarked in politics first as a Federalist, afterward as a Democrat; member of Congress, 1790-8 and 1801-2; U. S. Senator, 1804-15; Governor of Virginia, 1827-30; member of Legislature, 1829-30. He separated from the Federalists on the question of establishing a United States bank in December, 1790. January 23, 1793, he charged Hamilton with corruption and peculation. In 1796, he opposed the creation of a navy, and the ratification of Jay's treaty, and the proposed war with France in 1798. He was an able debater.—*Drake's Dict. Am. Biog.*

Friday, 19*th*. Mr. Bayard* rose, and followed the course which Giles had taken, tracing him in every step, confuting and lashing him in a manner I am unable to describe, after which he took up the expediency of the system to be repealed. This part he treated in a manner far exceeding any thing offered in the Senate. After speaking almost four hours, he observed to the Chairman that he had come to the Constitutional part of the question, but it was much beyond the usual hour for adjourning, and it would take some time to make the remarks he intended, he would sit down that the Committee might rise, and conclude his observations the next day, unless the Committee would indulge him to go on. At first there was a call to proceed, but having sat a few minutes, he found himself faint and scarcely able to rise from his chair. Several members near him interposed, and moved for the Committee to rise, which was agreed.

On this day the House was more crowded than it had been on any preceding day. Through the whole time, every eye seemed to be fixed upon the speaker, and every sentence to make impression. . . . While the house was adjourning, he nearly fainted. . . .

---

* James A. Bayard was born in Philadelphia, 1767, and educated at Princeton College. In 1784, he engaged in the study of the law, and on admission to the bar, settled in the State of Delaware. Elected to Congress toward the close of the administration of Mr. Adams. In 1804, elected to the Senate of the United States by the Legislature of Delaware. In 1813, appointed by President Madison one of the ministers to conclude a treaty of peace with Great Britain, and assisted in the successful negotiations at Ghent in the following year. Died, July, 1815.

UNIVERSITY OF ILLINOIS LIBRARY

Saturday, 20*th*. Mr. Bayard had entertained fears that he should not be able to attend; he, however, found himself so far recruited as to take his seat by the time the Committees were formed. He rose, and after a few sentences recovered his usual ease and vivacity in speaking. Reassuming his subject on the Constitutionality, he spoke two hours and a half, and, if possible, exceeded, in luminous, impressive reasoning, the preceding day. I can attempt no description, but must refer you to the speech, which I think you will find a rich entertainment. It was delivered in a truly parliamentary style, and said here, by many, never to have been equaled by Fox, Burke, or Chatham. No speech in the Senate will bear a comparison. After he sat down, Mr. Randolph rose, spoke about two hours, and closed the sitting. The inferiority of this Virginia orator extremely mortified his party. It might have been thought better at another time; but, at any time, it would have been a miserable, disconnected harangue. The House rose between five and six, and adjourned to Tuesday, for the purpose of giving opportunity to workmen to fix some ventilators, which were greatly wanted in the Hall. At the moment the Speaker was putting the question to adjourn for the above purpose till Tuesday, one of our friends observed, there was another reason for adjourning over Monday. It was the natal day of the great Washington; he presumed so much respect would be paid to his memory that the Legislature would do no business on that day. It was the intention of those who venerated that great character to devote the day to a commemoration of the man in whose illustrious name his country gloried. This observation produced an effect which you would think incredible. When the motion was made to give Monday to the workman, that the ventilators might be fixed, for the want of which every member had suffered severely, I dare say every member was in favor of it. But, naming the nativity of Washington, the adjournment was opposed. When the vote was taken in the usual form, *viva voce*, the sound of the no's was stronger than ayes. A division called, members pro and con rose, and the vote was carried only by a small majority. Have we lived to see the day, has it so soon arrived, that the memory of Washington should meet with marked contempt—and so pointed—by almost a majority of the National Representatives!

I have given you a very imperfect account of the proceedings of the last week. The dignified manner in which the business has progressed has received, from the most respectable spectators, the highest encomium. The Senate adjourned on every day (having met an hour sooner than usual) as early as the committee of the whole was formed, and attended on the floor of the House, the Vice-President remarkably attentive. Great numbers of ladies, and people—collected I know not from where—have attended, and seemed to be daily increasing. The very aspect of the Hall—the solemn silence, the marked attention of every countenance, the order observed in the debate—has exhibited a scene which you can better conceive than I can describe. It has been said by some, if men of high importance, charged with treason, and standing at the bar of the House, were on trial for their lives, the solemnity could hardly have been greater. . . . Many warm Democrats, out of doors, have expressed their astonishment at the light which Federalists have thrown upon this subject, and reprobated the measure. I could only wish that the *whole people of America* could have witnessed the scenes, and heard the debates of the last week.

I must mention two or three of the most admirable points in Mr. Bayard's speech, though I shall only spoil them by the attempt. I can not give you a single expression as he delivered it. After noticing the abuses of Giles in numerous instances, and scourging him with whips and scorpions, he told him, for all these he would forgive him; but one thing he never would forgive—and then attacked him for his abuse of Washington, in a manner which filled the House with admiration. Another thing—in a bold, but handsome manner, he charged the whole of this business on the President, declared he was the author, he was the abettor, he was the support of this repeal. 'It was in his power, and in his alone, to arrest it, and prevent its passing; he could stop it by a word's speaking. If he did not (though he meant not to threaten), he would feel his chair of state tremble under him, he would be hurled from it before the expiration of his four years. This part was inimitable. In the course of his arguments on the unconstitutionality, he at length pointed out, in the most forcible and impressive manner, the absolute impossibility of a government being supported without an independent Judiciary. Here, he declared to his opponents, he meant to throw the gauntlet. He challenged, he dared them to take the field—manfully to come forward and meet him on this ground. I can give you no idea of the effect of this part of his speech. When Randolph rose, he began with a pompous declaration, that, though he was a stripling (which, by the way, is true, in every possible sense of the word), he rose to meet the giant—that Goliath on the opposite side—he accepted the challenge; he would only take a stone and a sling, and would level him to the ground. It was afterward shrewdly observed by some of his own party, he took his sling, but he had no stone to put in it. Many of his party were severely mortified. Both Bayard and Randolph have greatly disappointed their respective friends. Randolph has sunk far below, and Bayard has towered far above the expectations of his most sanguine admirers. It is impossible that Bayard's speech should be given entire to the public. No stenographer could have taken it—he had not written—it is not possible for him now to write. Much of it (as regards the public) must be as water spilt on the ground, and we fear—greatly fear—the best parts of it will be lost. Much of the ornament you can not have. He is an extraordinary man. In cautious, sound judgment, he does not excel; but, as a parliamentary speaker, perfectly at his ease—so careless, that he does not appear to have the least exercise of mind, and hardly to know, himself, that he is speaking, I doubt whether his equal can be found. And though his speaking seems to be as easy and as involuntary as his breathing, yet in the sublime, in pathos, in solemnity, as occasion requires, he arrests, he astonishes his auditory, but seems to know nothing about it himself. His friends have begged him immediately to commit all he can recollect to writing. But a speech of six hours and a half, with very few previous notes, much of it depending on the impressions and spur of the moment, can never, without much loss, be committed to paper.

What is to come is only to be conjectured. Five or six of our best speakers, and who are prepared for ranging the whole ground, who would be able to occupy at least six days, are yet behind; not less than ten of the smaller folks are prepared to occupy one hour each, and I will venture to tell you, that your humble servant has presumed to be of the number. I believe there are not less than ten more on our side the House who mean not to give a silent vote. What number intend to speak on the other side is unknown. If all are allowed, a fortnight more must be occupied before the first question is taken. We were threatened with the call for the question yesterday. We expect the speakers on their side mean to come first on the ground, and as soon as they have done, we are told the call for the question will be so vociferous that debate must cease. This they declare.

Since I have been writing, our letters from the office are brought in, and I have the pleasure of finding your highly esteemed favor of the 10th. The contents have afforded me a comfort which I did not expect. My dear sir, you have no idea of the satisfaction of such a letter from a friend, in a situation like the one in which we are now placed. Do continue to write. The repeal is *no object*, only as the *means* to get at the *end* that is aimed at. The Constitution is the *hated object*, and the Cabinet has decreed its destruction. Our all is at stake! We hear, we talk of nothing but politics. . . . I must just observe that in writing to my friends I have been under the necessity of writing with all the celerity I can drive my pen, almost without thinking on what I am writing, and often without opportunity to cast my eye over it. Besides, in writing to a friend in whom I feel confidence, I am in hazard of being too unguarded, and saying things I should be unwilling to give to the world. Another thing, all that goes from Washington and finds it way into your papers comes back. All the New England papers are sent on to us. Suspicion is excited, and virulent attacks have been occasioned. I must, therefore, beg for caution. Though this has been written as fast as possible, communicate it to any friends, but save it from the newspapers. My kind regards to your good family and all friends.

Yours, affectionately,
M. Cutler.

Fragment of a letter [no address or date]. . . . He [Mr. Griswold *] is always modest, cautious, and candid in noticing arguments opposed to his own. Remarkable for giving no member uneasy sensations by severe or sarcastic replies, however fair the opportunity may be, unless he is violently attacked, and extremely happy in the clear and forcible manner in which he conveys his ideas. As he sits next to me, directly behind my chair, I have had opportunity repeatedly to hear the solicitations of several of the Democrats, who came and begged him to take a part in the debâtes on particular questions. This is a new thing. Sometimes he has complied, but not often—he has said very little in the course of the session. I was told, to-day, some of their leading characters had declared that there was no man in the House who had so much influence as Griswold.

---

* Roger Griswold was born in Lyme, Connecticut, in 1762. He graduated at Yale College, 1780, and in 1812 received from it the degree of LL.D., which Harvard University had conferred on him in 1811. He was the son of Matthew Griswold, who had filled many important offices in Connecticut, among them Chief Justice of the Superior Court, Lieutenant-Governor, and Governor of the State. Roger Griswold commenced the practice of law in 1783, and soon acquired a high reputation and a lucrative practice. He was a member of Congress from 1795 to 1805. In 1801 he was nominated by President Adams as Secretary of War, but declined. In 1807 he was appointed a Judge of the Superior Court of Connecticut. In 1809 he was chosen Lieutenant-Governor by the Assembly, and in 1811 he was elected Governor by the people. "He was regarded as one of the first men in the nation, in talents, political knowledge, force of eloquence, and profound legal ability."

In 1798 he became involved in a fight with Matthew Lyon, of Vermont, on the floor of the House of Representatives, the first of a number of similar altercations which have disgraced the National Congress.

He died in Norwich, Connecticut, October, 1812.—*See Gazetteer of Connecticut, by John C. Pease and John M. Niles.*

[*To Temple Cutler.*]

WASHINGTON, *Feb.* 26, 1802.

My Son:—You see by the few lines I send you every day, and the papers, something of the state we are in. Since Monday (Feb. 15th), when the Judiciary bill was called up in the House, I have been obliged very much to desist from answering the numerous letters I have received. I am much behindhand, and must be so until this all-important question is decided.

If I recollect, I have mentioned to you that when we found a postponement could not be obtained, we were determined to meet it in a direct, bold, and dignified manner. The very long debates of the most who have been up have prevented great numbers from speaking on our side, who had intended to do so, and were prepared for it. I had made up my mind to speak on this question before it came into the House, and prepared myself for at least one hour, but an opportunity has not presented. On the last two days, it was proposed that I should be among the number. Our arrangements are made the evening before, but the speakers on our side are always conditional, and depend on who may rise on the opposite side, on account of following them. It is suspected they are aware of our plan, for their best speakers came forward sooner than was expected, and it was necessary that ours should follow them. We have had some new ones up, who have done well. Mr. Henderson,* who opened the debate, has been a member of Congress many years, but never spoke before. His speech was excellent. It is more probable than otherwise, that only two or three more intend to speak on their side; if so, many on ours must be disappointed. Indeed, the subject is now exhausted; much that I intended to say has been said already, over and over again.

At the close of the debates on Tuesday, there were loud calls for the question. We expected it again Wednesday, but, as Mr. Rutledge had not more than half gone through, they forbore. Yesterday it was the case again. Mr. Griswold was obliged to break off in the midst of his speech, he was so exhausted. Most probably they will take the question to-morrow.

---

*Archibald Henderson was a member of Congress from North Carolina. He was a lawyer, and stood high in his profession.

Never had I any idea of public speaking until this time. It has far exceeded my conceptions. The great speeches of Bayard, Rutledge, and Griswold are beyond all description. Bayard alone spoke through the whole sitting, and when he sat down, almost fainted away. I was not far from him, and when I turned my eye upon him in his chair, I was struck with the apprehension that he was dying. The next day he went on and spoke two hours and a half. Rutledge has displayed more of finished oratory; his eloquence, his action, his pleasing manner would have done honor to a Roman, but, the first day, he became so faint that he was obliged to stop. On the next, he spoke much longer. Griswold has far exceeded all before him in close, pointed, conclusive reasoning. . . .

On every day the gallery and lobby have been crowded. The Vice-President has constantly attended, and most of the members of the Senate. They are admitted on the floor of the House. The members of the House give leave to gentlemen, if they apply, to come on the floor, and great numbers of ladies and gentlemen have attended every day; but the most perfect order has been preserved. The speaking on the opposite side has fallen short of our expectation, that on our side greatly exceeded. Spectators have spoken of this disparity with admiration. It has had great effect on people here. . . . When Griswold sat down to-day, it appeared to me that there was not one in the gallery, or lobby, that did not tremble for his country. . . .

Your affectionate parent,
M. CUTLER.

[*To Dr. Torrey.*]

WASHINGTON, *Feb.* 27, 1802.

Dear Sir:—Since the Judiciary bill has been before the House, every faculty and feeling has been so much arrested that I have hardly been in a state to write letters. . . . In the wide field that has been taken, many of the speeches have been desultory and exceedingly protracted; much has been said which has had no immediate relation to the merits of the question; but we consider it fortunate that this course has been taken. It has given opportunity to take into view men and measures—to exhibit to the public some of the outlines of the new theory, and to state consequences which otherwise would not have been done. . . . Mr. Bayard followed Giles, and astonished his friends, much exceeding their most sanguine expectations. He had prepared himself for the question itself, but, in following Giles between two or three hours, depended on present thought. He has since assured me that he had only from eight in the morning until Congress sat to look over the minutes he had made of Giles' speech the day before.

Mr. Rutledge is a very handsome speaker (and a very handsome man). He never appears so well as when he is speaking. He exhibited a display of parliamentary eloquence far more natural, easy, and graceful than I had ever heard—many fine strokes. In the sublime, and in pathos, he excelled. His speech was admirably calculated for a popular assembly, and yet discovered much classic knowledge and classic taste.

Mr. Griswold has shone upon this occasion with distinguished luster. He outdid himself. In plain, conclusive argument, perfectly to the point, he has given a demonstration of the violation of the Constitution in this bill which will forever remain unanswerable. He brings the conviction to the mind in a manner that is irresistible, and has surpassed all that have gone before him. . . .

Indeed, the magnitude of this question grows upon discussion, and the new theory which is begun is every day more and more discovered. The outlines of the plan are to get rid of a written Constitution, which will remove the restraints of fixed principles, increase the powers of the Legislature—let that body become omnipotent, let public opinion be the political constitution, let the elections be the check upon the encroachments of power—then our political freedom and happiness will be secured. You may be assured that the repeal of the Judiciary is only the means to obtain this end. . . . There is no doubt in my mind that every measure comes from the Cabinet prepared to be acted upon, and that, at this moment, the Executive as completely rules both Houses of Congress as Bonaparte rules the people of France. Alas! my dear sir, what are we coming to, if the good sense and wisdom of the people can not be waked up and brought into action. Our hazard appears to me to lie, more than in any thing else, in the imperceptible progress we are making to a state of ruin, or, at least, to some kind of revolution.

It gives us pleasure to find the adulatory address has failed in the Massachusetts Legislature. When the debates in Congress on this question get into the hands of the people, I do flatter myself they will make impressions on the people of the New England States. The Federalists from the Southward, who act with us, place all their hopes on the good sense and information of the Eastern States, but they are much afraid they will withdraw from the Union. Some of them are actually making arrangements to dispose of their interests and move to New England, and all of them are talking about it.

How long the debate will continue is uncertain, . . . but not a vote will be altered. The numbers, *pro* and *con*, if all the members now here are in the Hall, will be 61 yeas and 35 nays. One member on our side is absent, and another (General Shepard) is sick. It is not impossible the question in committee may be taken to-day, but I believe there are two or three more on their side who intend to speak. Mr. Nicholson began a speech yesterday in favor of the bill, which he will conclude to-day. Hitherto, the debates have been conducted with a dignity and solemnity that has done honor to the greatness of the occasion, but it is growing less so, and I expect the scene to be totally changed.

Your affectionate parent,
M. Cutler.

[*From Ex-President John Adams.*]

Quincy, *May* 10, 1802.

Dear Sir:—I duly received your favor of the 17th of April. The letter from Dr. Mitchell, and the Project of the Society at New York of a National Academy, shall be laid before the American Academy of Arts and Sciences, at their next meeting.

Your other favor, of April 22, has since come to hand. I thank you, sir, for your obliging present of the Census. If the Government for the second twelve years, by undoing all that was done in the first twelve years, would restore us to the situation we were in at first, humiliating as that was, we shall be more fortunate than I fear we shall be. Those who live to that period will see and feel what I hope will be out of the sight of

Your very respectful and obedient servant,

DR. CUTLER. JOHN ADAMS.

CHAPTER XV.

FIRST AND SECOND SESSIONS IN CONGRESS—LETTERS TO HIS FAMILY, MAJOR BURNHAM, DR. DANA, FROM WASHINGTON—DIARY FOR 1802, 1803—LETTER FROM REV. DR. MORSE.

WASHINGTON, *March* 4, 1802.

MAJOR BURNHAM.

My Dear Sir:—I should not have delayed so long to have acknowledged your polite and much esteemed favor of January 30th, had it not been that, to tell you the truth, I have hardly been in a condition to write to my friends since I received it. It came to hand just as the Judiciary bill was coming before the House. . . . I have rather waited until it came to a decision. The expected event has come to pass, and as painful as it is, I feel my mind relieved.

The bill was called up on Monday, February 15th, and the debate continued, with intermissions, and generally to very late hours, until about a quarter before twelve at night.

On Monday, the 1st of March, the minority generally discovered a wish to come forward and disclose their opposition to this daring and pernicious measure. Some arrangements were made, with a view that gentlemen most accustomed to speaking should somewhat intermix, but were principally to wait till toward the close of the debate. A backwardness to speak appeared on the side of the majority. Mr. Giles seemed compelled to come forward early in the debate. His exordium, which contained far the greater part of his speech when delivered (though it shortened, and the other part lengthened, in the papers), was a violent attack upon Federal men and measures from the commencement of the present government. Even the great Washington did not escape the lash of severe criminations. Taking this range at the onset, a field was opened that could scarcely ever be traversed. Though Giles was sufficiently scourged for his abuse, which he felt with keen sensations, yet it was the occasion of many unpleasant and unhappy observations. He was followed by Mr. Bayard, who did not expect to speak so early, and had very little time for preparation. You will see his speech in the papers. The most conspicuous and able speakers on our side the house were Messrs. Bayard, Rutledge, Griswold, and Dana. Several gentlemen who had been long members of Congress, but not in the habit of speaking, made their first speech on this occasion, and appeared to much advantage. On the side of the majority, Mr. Giles and Mr. Nicholson were the only distinguished speakers, and performed their part well. Mr. Giles was up between two and three hours, and Mr. Nicholson between four and five—he began his speech on one day and concluded it on the next.

The vast speeches of Bayard, Rutledge, Griswold, and Dana, from five to seven hours each, speaking until they were so exhausted and faint as to be compelled to sit down because their voices failed, and requesting leave to speak again the next day, are the first instances of the kind in America, and, perhaps, in the history of parliamentary speaking in any country. The display of talents, extensive knowledge, strength of reasoning, and pathetic address, will do honor to themselves and to their country.

Much decorum and dignity was preserved through this long discussion, for which we are greatly indebted to our excellent chairman, Mr. John C. Smith, of Connecticut (and who is one of our family). The fatigue was so severe as to make him quite sick, so as to render him unable to attend when the bill came before the House. The Senate generally met earlier than their usual hours, and adjourned to attend the debates. Large numbers of ladies and gentlemen from different parts of the country were admitted on the floor of the House every day, and the lobby and the gallery were full. The session commenced (on Monday) early, and, aware that we were not to have another day, those who could not reconcile themselves to a silent vote had to press hard to get an opportunity to speak. Arrangements were made among our friends, but we were much interrupted, and a large number were not permitted to speak at all.

The air of the room had generally been bad in the latter part of the day, but much worse on this day, owing to the crowd of spectators. We were confined to our chairs from about ten in the morning till nearly twelve at night, and no member is at any time allowed to stand, only when speaking. From eight in the morning, when I breakfasted, till one at night, when I dined (about seventeen hours), I took no refreshment but water. When the votes, this evening, on the main question were taken, Mr. Eustis * took care to be out of his place, and was not counted on either side. The numbers were declared that evening to be: for the bill, 60; against it, 31. But in the Democratic papers the next morning: for the bill, 55; against, 30. Tuesday was employed in attempting amendments, and Wednesday, a postponement to December. Debates on the postponement were very interesting, and continued until candle-lighting. On passing the bill: ayes, 59; nays, 32. Messrs. Bayard, J. C. Smith, Shepard, and Mattoon were sick and unable to attend. Messrs. Perkins, Stratton, and T. Morris had leave of absence some weeks ago, and were gone home. If they had been present, the nays would have been 39. On the passing the bill, Dr. Eustis left his party and came over and voted with us. . . .

Thus the excellent instrument we have been accustomed to view as the pride of our country and our ark of safety is gone. In the language of Mr. Morris, "It is dead, it is dead." . . .

I have not attempted to give you any account of the merit of the speeches made on this occasion, which will form an important era in the annals of our country. You will see them in the papers. If the whole were to be printed, they would fill volumes; and I doubt whether the stenographers have taken the whole, though there were constantly three or four at the table. Some have revised their own minutes, but some have not been able to do it.

Mr. Giles and Mr. Randolph have much more openly avowed

---

* Dr. William Eustis, born in Cambridge, Mass., June 10, 1753; graduated, Harvard College, 1772. In 1800, he was elected a Representative in Congress, serving until 1805. In 1809, was appointed Secretary of War by President Madison; in 1815, was sent Ambassador to Holland. Representative in Congress from 1820 to 1823; chosen Governor of Massachusetts in 1823; died in Boston, February 6, 1825.

the plans of government under the new order of things than was expected. They publicly declared they wished for the bill to pass, as much as for any thing, to try a Constitutional principle, whether the Judges were independent or not. The only plea for repealing the system is the expense; but the day the bill passed, Giles gave the outlines of a new law, which is now to be brought forward and passed, quite as expensive, and much less beneficial. The new theory is, that the majority can have no object but the good of the people; that the Legislature ought not to be controlled, in promoting their good, by any fixed principles contained in a written instrument. The only political Constitution by which Congress should be governed is the *public opinion.* The Legislature to be omnipotent, and executive responsibility sheltered under its wing. All abuses of power in Congress are to be corrected by future elections. The first step to effect this plan would necessarily be to break down that branch of the government which establishes the independence of the Judiciary.

I can only add, I am,

Yours, most sincerely,

M. Cutler.

Washington, *March* 4, 1802.

Dr. Torrey.

Dear Sir:—I have, at this moment, only time to inform you of the issue of the Judiciary Bill. The debates were brought to a close on Monday evening (March 1st), between eleven and twelve at night. It was the intention of the majority to have taken the main question on Saturday, and the debates were continued until nine at night; but so many of the minority, who had not had an opportunity to speak, insisted on their constitutional right to declare their sentiments, and, being joined by the majority, an adjournment was obtained. On Monday was exhibited the most trying scene which has transpired through the course of this long and interesting discussion. Arrangements were made in the morning among our friends, with a view to give as many as possible an opportunity to express their opinions; and all, except Mr. Dana (who was to take his own time), were to curtail their observations as much as possible, to accommodate others. The debates were opened at an early hour by Mr. Hill. It was agreed that I should follow him, but some of the majority were instantly up, and it was not until after a number of attempts that I was able to address the chair, and obtain an opportunity to speak. Mr. Hastings, in a very handsome speech, followed me. It was now nearly five, and a motion was made to adjourn, but failed. Mr. Dana* rose, and spoke till nearly ten, when he found that his voice and strength failed, though he intended to speak (to finish his plan) about an hour longer. It is saying much, but, I think, not too much, that Mr. Dana surpassed all that had gone before him. As soon as he sat down, a number were up, but a vociferous call for the question prevented their speaking. After much contest, Mr. Plater and Colonel Tallmadge obtained leave to speak, but were short. When Colonel T. sat down, others attempted to speak, but were prevented. Though not less than eight or ten more were determined not to give silent votes on a question so interesting, they were obliged to submit, and the debates closed. On the main question: for the Bill, 60; against it, 31. The late hour of the night, the almost suffocating feeling of the air in the Hall—owing to the prodigious crowd of spectators (which was greater on this day than on any day before)—and ill state of health, had compelled four of our men to retire before the vote was taken. Three were gone home, some time ago, with leave of absence. If all the minority had been present, there would have been 38 against a Bill.

The fatigue of this day was great. I took my seat about 10 in the morning, and remained in it until a few minutes before 12 at night. No member is permitted to stand up in his seat, only when speaking. We may leave our seats and walk a few minutes on the floor of the House, when tired of sitting; but the floor, on this day (as has been for the fortnight past), was occupied by ladies and gentlemen, so as to leave no room for the members to walk. To be confined in a chair fourteen hours without being able to change one's posture, is painful. I was somewhat relieved while I was speaking, which I believe was toward an hour, but anxiety of mind more than balanced the relief.

---

* Samuel Whittlesey Dana, an eminent and leading Federalist, was born, New Haven, Conn., July, 1757; died, July 21, 1830. Graduated at Yale College, 1775. Member Congress, 1796 to 1810; United States Senator, 1810–1821; Was for many years Mayor of Middletown, Conn. —*Drake's Dict. Am. Biog.*

We were obliged to attend again early on the next day, when the Bill came before the House. This day was employed, until nearly sunset, in attempting to introduce amendments, which, if one could obtain, the Bill would go back to the Senate (and we had now good reason to believe a majority of the Senate wished for it), that it might fail of passing. But no amendment obtained, though at several times a number of the majority voted with us. The yeas and nays were taken no less than seven times in the course of the day. Yesterday was made the order of the day for passing the Bill. A motion was made for a postponement until December next, and a very interesting debate ensued, which lasted till candles were lighted. In the course of the debates Mr. Giles made a confession (and did it very handsomely) which much surprised us as coming from a Virginian. He confessed the great superiority of talent on our side (the minority), and said, he "bowed with reverence to the talents which he saw on our side of the House, and hoped, notwithstanding the severity of this contest, those talents would not be refused in future business which we had to transact." On passing the bill: ayes, 59; nays, 32. Dr. Eustis left his party and voted with us, both for postponement and the passage of the Bill. The members on our side who were absent on Monday night, were so ill as to be unable to attend, viz.: General Shepard, General Mattoon, Mr. Barnard, and Mr. J. C. Smith. The last had been the Chairman of the Committee of the Whole, and by the extreme fatigue he had suffered in the discharge of that duty, was quite sick, and is still confined to his chamber. Thus I have given you a longer detail than I intended, when I began, of the closing scene of this momentous business. This event will form a memorable era in the government of our country. Our happy Constitution, the pride of our Country, and the ark of our safety, is now no better than a blank paper. It came into operative existence on the 4th of March, in the year 1789, in the morning, and expired, after suffering extreme convulsions, on the 3d of March, 1802, in the evening, aged just 13 years.

On passing the bill there was no exulting on the side of the majority, but a solemn gloom was strongly marked on many of their countenances. But to exhilarate their spirits, and in triumph of victory, they are this day celebrating the downfall of the Judiciary branch of our government in a civic feast, at Stille's Hotel, and the hotel this evening is to be illuminated. Many of them, however, are too sensible to attend.

A great number of the members of our House are very unwell. General Shepard is very sick. I have just returned from visiting him. The member from the South-west Territory, Mr. Hunter, I am told, is not expected to live many days. It is supposed to be owing to the fatigue of our long and tedious sitting, long abstinence from food, and the suffocating air of the hall during this most unhappy business. I feel very much unwell myself, but attended business in the Hall today. We had scarcely enough to make a quorum, and sat but a short time. I feel the want of exercise, having had very little the last fortnight. Great impression is made upon the minds of people here, and especially on the property of this city. One gentleman, Colonel Stoddard, had contracted with a number of moneyed gentlemen, in Baltimore, for the sale of city lots, to the amount of 30,000 dollars. He had prepared his deeds, and went with them to Baltimore yesterday to receive his money, but was told that, although they had intended to make this the place of their residence, finding the Judiciary bill had passed, they had changed their minds. The instability of government had discouraged them; they would not give him one dollar apiece for lots. He was obliged to return without getting a cent of money. Will you tell me how it is with you? Will Governor Strong be chosen? . . .

Your affectionate parent,

M. Cutler.

Washington, *March* 14, 1802.

My Son:— . . . Here I have every thing to render my situation agreeable; as much so as, perhaps, it can be at so great a distance from my nearest connections, excepting the alarming situation in which our country appears to me to be placed.

Before I came, I was apprehensive that as I was a clergyman I might meet with some unpleasant things on that account. I viewed myself a *speckled bird*, because I presumed I should be viewed so by others. But the case has been far otherwise. The President has paid me more particular attention (I believe) than to any one Federalist in either House of Congress, though he well knows I am not only a determined, but an active, Federalist. The heads of Departments have been very complaisant, particularly General Dearborn; and the *Worcester Farmer* * bows, and pays the usual compliments whenever I meet with him, and always gives me one of his *smiles*, which he gives to every body with whom he has any conversation. From members of Congress I have received every civility I could desire, not with our own party only, but I often converse freely with those of the opposite side, and in the most cordial manner. The Speaker of the House has been particularly complaisant, who, by the way, I do believe is as honest a man as a Democrat can be, and has something about him which is quite engaging. I believe, however, that he is not in the secrets of the Cabinet—has been insensible of the tendency of the rash measures that have been and are still being pursued. But (I do believe) he now feels more alarmed than any of his party.

---

* Levi Lincoln, Attorney-General of the United States, was the "Worcester Farmer." He wrote a series of letters for the Boston papers, attacking the administration of John Adams, which were called "Farmer's Letters." Mr. Lincoln was a native of Hingham, Mass., a graduate of Harvard, 1772. He settled in Worcester in the practice of law in 1775, and became eminent in the profession. He was a member of the Massachusetts General Court, 1796; of the State Senate, 1797; member Congress, 1799 to 1801; Attorney-General of the United States, 1801 to 1805; Lieutenant-Governor of Massachusetts, 1807; acting Governor, 1809; appointed Justice of the United States Supreme Court, 1811, but declined. He was an original member of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences. He died at Worcester, 1820. His son, Levi, was Governor of Massachusetts, 1825 to 1834. His son, Enoch, was Governor of Maine, 1827 to 1829.—*See Drake's Dict. Am. Biog.*

He has taken care to give me a full share of Committee business, and more than common to a new member. With these agreeable circumstances are connected a spirit of party of which I had no conception, great grounds to fear our country is fast approaching to a most deplorable state.

I can say to you, what I would not say to every one, that to be a member of the councils of a great nation, to take a part in the measures of government of the first magnitude at a time when the best of all governments is crumbling to ruin, to be the witness (though the feeble opposer) of the worst of measures, which must be followed in the common course of things with consequences destructive of our liberties and independence, and which may lead to scenes of which we may now be incapable of forming any conception; when employed in a work like this, is trying indeed. . . . Not that I expect any immediate agitations among the people. I hope nothing will be attempted, at present, but in a regular manner and through the proper organs of the state government. The people can do nothing to effect by tumult, but it is of the last importance that their eyes should be opened; that they choose proper men in the state government, and are directed by the collective wisdom of the whole in some proper mode. We must believe, we do believe, when the debates of the House are circulated among the people, on the Judiciary, that the people must see their danger. Many of the members of Congress think there will not be another session under the present government. . . .

A bill passed the Committee of the whole, on Friday, to relinquish to the debtor states the balance due on the account of final settlements of the expense of the Revolutionary War, amounting to 3,507,584 dollars. All the New England States are credit states. There is due to Massachusetts near two millions. But this bill establishes a principle by which Congress may wipe off all the balances due to the credit states, and this is the object. This ought to give serious alarm to Massachusetts. On this occasion, for the first time, all the members from Massachusetts voted together. . . . We feel much alarmed about your approaching election of Governor and Senator. If Gerry is chosen at this time, we have every thing to fear. I wish you to see and converse with the principal people, and mention to them, as my earnest request, that they make every exertion to re-elect Governor Strong. Let Hamilton keep up its character, and never have we seen the time when more exertion ought to be made. It depends more upon Massachusetts than any state in the Union to save us from civil war, and, in the event, a despotic government. When the time comes, depend upon it, there is a *Bonaparte* ready to hurl Jefferson from his chair, and to take the reins of government into his own hands. He is now in this city. I believe many of the Democrats are in all his plans. He is hated and despised by the Federalists. But, when government breaks, the chance is in his favor. If some unforeseen event does not take place, which Heaven grant there may be, I must believe this state of things is coming upon us.

If you see Dr. Torrey, you may, if you please, show him this letter; at any rate, urge him to use his influence in Danvers in favor of Governor Strong. I will write to him, if I can snatch a few minutes of time. I wish also to write to several in Hamilton, but doubt whether I shall be able. I begin now to count the days when I hope to set my face homeward. We hope we shall adjourn on the 12th of April, but I think it doubtful. We find there are certain things to be done before the majority will rise, and very much doubt whether they can be done by that day. Since the passing the Judiciary law, the minority have said very little on any subject. We have let them go on in their own way, only voting against them. Yeas and nays are taken on almost every question in the House, except on private business. Debate only lengthens out the time, and does no good. I think I shall return by water, if there should be a good vessel bound to Salem, ready at the time, but I have not determined. . . . Yesterday we attended the funeral of one of our House, Mr. Hunter, of the South-western or Mississippi Territory. The members of the House were put in mourning by wearing black crape on the left arm. The two Houses of Congress and their officers, and the Heads of the Departments, walked in procession from the house where he died, in the city, to Georgetown, where he was buried. General Shepard, of Massachusetts, is very low, and I fear we shall be called to follow him to his grave before we rise. Hunter died of bilious fever, and General Shepard's is a bilious case. Many members were so unwell yesterday as not to attend the funeral. On Friday, out of 106, only 82 attended; several are gone home, perhaps eight or ten. I was told this morning that Mr. Gray, of Virginia, was very sick of a fever. I have been very unwell. . . . All this indisposition is laid to the charge of what we had to go through when the Judiciary bill was before the House. I believe it is partly owing to much close, foggy weather about that time.

Your affectionate parent,

M. Cutler.

Washington, *March* 22, 1802.

To Mrs. Torrey.

. . . As certain as Mr. Gerry is chosen, Massachusetts is subjugated to Virginia, and the politics of that state will govern, the little time the Union remains. We are going on in the work of destruction. A bill has passed the Committee of the Whole to extinguish the balance due from the debtor states to the nation, and this will establish a principle (which is doubtless the main object) to wipe off debts due from the government to the credit states. The debt due to Massachusetts is toward two million, on which the interest is annually paid. But it is not funded, it only stands as credit on the books, and Congress may, any day, wipe it off.

The bill for repealing the internal system of taxes passed this day in Committee of the Whole. Bills have already been reported for increasing duties on some imports, and more are preparing. A motion has been made for demolishing the Navy Department, but, on its being called, before they intended it should be, by Mr. Griswold, Dr. Leib withdrew it for the present. It will probably pass before Congress rises. In a word, the object is to afford no protection to trade, but to burden it as much as possible. The reason is plain—Virginia has no commerce.

The second Monday in April is the day proposed for Congress to adjourn, but I believe we shall not be able to do all the mischief we are destined to do by that time. It is most probable we may sit a week longer. The Constitutionalists now say little; it only wastes time. We think it best to let them go on with their own works, till the eyes of the people are opened. Indeed, we can do nothing.

Your affectionate parent,

M. CUTLER.

WASHINGTON, *April* 7, 1802.

REV. DR. DANA.

My Dear Sir:— . . . A bill has passed the House the present week, entitled, "An act making provision for the payment of the whole public debt." The title, on which the yeas and nays were taken (and, I believe, for the first time it was ever done on the title of a bill), is in no respect answerable to the provisions, or rather, the principles, of the bill, but calculated to impose a belief that the public debt is to be paid off at once, when its operations are intended to increase the debt. It takes off responsibility from the Secretary of the Treasury, commits all the money in the Treasury and a large portion of the revenue to the control of four men, three of whom, I believe, are totally unworthy of public confidence; authorizes them to make loans in Europe or America to an unlimited amount, to pay commissions and interest, to pledge the United States to make good all losses sustained by negotiations, and makes a complete opening for the wildest speculations with the public money. No act of the present session, though many of them have been bad enough, appears to me so alarming as this. The fact is, the public revenue is greatly diminished. Large appropriations heretofore pledged expressly to the payment of the public debt have been applied to other purposes, the salaries of many officers enormously increased, and large sums variously disposed of. The new theory of finance is to pay the debt by loans, which, with concomitant expenses, must unavoidably increase it. But my time will not permit me to go into detail. By attempts to amend, which were made in every stage, a very important one, through the ignorance of its friends, obtained and passed the House. We are told, however, it has since been discovered, and is to be corrected in the Senate.

We hear with great joy of the success of the late elections in Massachusetts. It has had a very sensible effect on the majority in Congress, and has already procured the minority a number of votes, which would have been given the other way. The hope of revolutionizing New England is very much given up, and, as far as confidence can be placed on reports, federalism is gaining ground in the Southern and Middle, as well as Eastern States.

There are strong symptoms of embarrassment in the Cabinet. Mr. Madison is about to resign. He has kept himself very close. His opinion has not been known, but it can hardly be doubted that much of the present policy he totally disapproves. It is publicly said that Mr. Jefferson will decline being a candidate at the next election.

Yesterday, the French minister personally applied to several of the minority, and particularly to Mr. Bayard, to know if they would favor a demand of a loan of about one million for our good friends and allies, the French, which he was directed to make. He was answered with great caution, and advised to make his application through the President. If the President should recommend the loan, it should meet a cool and deliberate consideration.

Being this morning on Committee business with Giles, Nicholson, Elmendorf, and Williams (warm Democrats), and Bayard and Griswold, this demand was mentioned by Mr. Bayard, with a particular statement of the application made to him, and the subject discussed. The Democrats declared they had not had any intimation of it, and warmly reprobated the measure. To try their feelings, they were asked what was to be done in our defenseless state? If the loan was refused, the ships, which are hourly expected, might easily enforce a contribution upon our seaports, to a much greater amount, and war might ensue. From the conversation that passed, Mr. Bayard, Griswold, and myself made up our minds that they would apply to the President to prevent the application. This business, whatever may be the issue, may be attended with very serious consequences.

However gloomy present appearances are, there remains some hope that the people will, ere long, come to their senses, that the tide is arrived to its height, and will soon begin to ebb. The principal things that the people have expected from the present administration seem to have been, correction of public defaulters who have been wasting the public money, lowering of high salaries, and savings in the general expenditures. In these they will be disappointed. May we not hope that the doings of the present Congress, though attended with many temporary evils, may be the means of correcting errors in the public mind? That time, and information derived from experience, may lead our country to just views of its own interests, and save us from that deplorable state into which present measures must inevitably plunge us? Is there not some ground to hope that a wise and merciful Providence is now operating our political salvation?

I have had much conversation with Mr. Davis* respecting the extraordinary religious commotions in Kentucky. He lives in the very center of its first beginning, and was for months constantly among these people in different parts of the state. His accounts far exceed what you have seen published, and can hardly admit of credibility, and yet I can not doubt his veracity. But I must leave the accounts until I can give it to you *viva voce.* It is said to be spreading fast in Tennessee, North Carolina, and the back part of Virginia. The change generally produced in the temper and manners of the people, wherever it has spread, is as pleasing and happy as it is astonishing.

The day of adjournment is not absolutely fixed, but I have the pleasing hope of leaving this city next Monday week. I do not expect to be able to write you again from this place; but be assured that I am, with cordial affection,

Dear sir, your friend and brother,

M. CUTLER.

---

* Thomas T. Davis was a member of Congress from Kentucky, 1797 to 1803, when he was appointed Judge in the Territory of Indiana. In the second volume of McMaster's "History of the People of the United States," pages 578 to 582, is an account of this wonderful religious awakening.

March 1, 1802, *Monday.* Attended a committee in the Hall at 10 o'clock. Debates [on Judiciary Bill] opened by Mr. Hill, about 11; excellent. Mr. Holland followed; long, ill-natured, unpleasant speaker. Then Mr. Gregg; not very long, nor much on the points. I followed; was much more intimidated than I expected; as I advanced, felt my embarrassment increase, until near the close, perhaps three-quarters of an hour. Mr. Dana followed, and spoke from five till nine. Attempts to rise, but in vain. Mr. Foster rose; spoke but a few minutes. The air was so bad and he so much exhausted as almost to fall back into his chair. He begged for adjournment, that he might have an opportunity to speak. Mr. Plater rose; said he had not time to offer what he wished; was pertinent, but short. Colonel Tallmadge followed; was obliged to curtail his speech. Question called vociferously. Mr. Bayard proposed amendments, but all in vain. About a quarter before 12, the question was taken, the numbers exactly as they had been.

March 2, *Tuesday.* Attempts to introduce amendments into the bill, but without success. Much debate. Report of the committee accepted.

March 3, *Wednesday.* Third reading; passed—ayes, 59; nays, 32; seven of the majority absent. Long debate on postponement. Candles were lighted before the bill passed. Thus expired the Constitution of the United States of America. It came into operative existence, March 4, 1789, in the morning, and expired, after severe convulsions, March 4, 1802, in the evening. The debates were continued through this day, with some regard to lengthening out the life of the Constitution, until evening.

March 4, *Thursday.* Very thin house. Many sick and complaining. Adjourned early. Democrats hold their civic feast at Stilles' Hotel.

March 5, *Friday.* Not much done. Some bills finished.

March 6, *Saturday.* House did not sit. In committee on appropriations to Heads of Departments.

March 10, *Wednesday.* Preparing my speech in Congress for the printers.

Mar. 11, *Thursday.* Finished, and put one into the hands of Smith.

Mar. 12, *Friday.* House notified of the death of Hon. Narsworthy Hunter—aged about 45—the member from the Mississippi Territory. Funeral to-morrow. Committee appointed. Resolved that the House wear mourning one month—black crape on the left arm. House adjourned to Monday.

Mar. 13, *Saturday.* Both Houses of Congress, and their respective officers, Heads of Departments, etc., formed a procession at the house where Mr. Hunter died—Six Buildings. Walked in procession to Georgetown. He was buried in the Yard by Mr. Balch's Meeting House. Crape for the arm provided and put on at the house.

Mar. 15, *Monday.* Extinguishing State balance.

Mar. 16, *Tuesday.* Internal taxes.

Mar. 17, *Wednesday.* Do.

Mar. 18, *Thursday.* Do. Much disorder. Yeas and nays taken many times.

Mar. 20, *Saturday.* Went to Georgetown. Mr. F. Dodge went with me to Mason's Island. The house well contrived for an airy, pleasant seat in the summer. Garden handsomely laid out. The Gardener gave me a large quantity and variety of seeds. Had to walk back to the City. Rained very hard as I returned. Invited to dine with Judge Cranch, but it was so late, and being very wet and fatigued, did not go.

Mar. 21, *Lord's Day.* Attended worship in the Hall. Dr. Gant preached. "By the terrors of the Law we persuade men." Tolerable sermon. Full assembly.

Mar. 22, *Monday.* Mr. Read, Judge Tenney, and myself, went to Mr. Holt's garden and collected a number of trees, magnolias, bignonias, Liriodendrons, etc., which Mr. Holt packed in straw. We also got two kinds of honeysuckles, medlar, filbert, crocuses, and monthly roses.

Mar. 24, *Wednesday.* Sent our trees on a schooner to Newburyport.

Mar. 25, *Thursday.* Passed the bill for repealing internal taxes.

Mar. 26, *Friday.* Went to Dr. Mitchell's.* We took a walk to examine fossils. . . .

---

* Dr. Samuel Latham Mitchell was born on Long Island, 1763. After the close of the war, went to Edinburgh, and studied medicine and

Mar. 27, *Saturday.* House sat late. Meeting of Committee to inquire into Treasury Department.

Mar. 29, 30, 31. Business not very interesting. House sat very late.

April 1, *Thursday.* Several bills passed. Weather pleasant.

Apr. 2, *Fri.* Committee on Treasury books inquired into some accounts exhibited. Agreed to go to the Offices to-morrow. Received a petition from Merchants of Newburyport, and presented it a few minutes after.

Apr. 3, *Saturday.* The committee on appropriation of money met at the office of the Secretary of the Treasury, at half after ten.

Apr. 4, *Lord's Day.* Attended at the Hall. Mr. Parkinson preached. . . .

Apr. 5, *Monday.* Mr, Griswold's motion, to inquire into the subject of the Corvette Beaxau, greatly embarrassed the majority. Spent the day. Conversed with Mr. Davis respecting the religious stir in Kentucky. His account is most astonishing.

April 7, *Wednesday.* Bill for erecting N. W. Territory into a State passed committee of the whole. Never was a bill passed opposed to so many constitutional, just, and equitable principles. It tyrannizes over every principle of liberty and freedom.

Apr. 8, *Thursday.* Spent on N. W. Territory State Bill. It is a most palpable violation of the Constitution.

Apr. 9, *Friday.* Dined at Georgetown, at Mr. Balch's. Our family, Dr. Smith, President of New Jersey College, and and some gentlemen of Georgetown. Judge Foster and myself walked home in the rain.

Apr. 10, *Saturday.* Spent the day with the Committee for inquiry into the application of money. At the Accountant's Offices.

Apr. 11, *Lord's Day.* Dr. Smith preached in the Hall,

---

natural history. On his return, was appointed Professor of Chemistry and Natural History in Columbia College. Member of Congress from New York from 1801–4, and again from 1810–13. Senator from 1804–9. He died in New York, September 8, 1831.—*Dict. of Congress* (*Lanman*).

A. M. A very good sermon, and very full assembly. I went to hear him, P. M., at Mr. Balch's Meeting at Georgetown. Full meeting. Preached to young people from first Psalm, first verse.

Apr. 13, *Tuesday.* Much engaged on sundry bills.

Apr. 14, *Wednesday.* On the bill providing for the Public Debt.

Apr. 15, *Thursday.* Passed the Bill.

Apr. 16, *Friday.* Mr. Read and I went to the Offices. At Mr. Cunningham's, and at Mr. Dalton's.

Apr. 17, *Saturday.* Attended the Committee of Investigation at Navy Department, Acct's Office, and at several other offices.

April 18, *Lord's Day.* Rainy. Attended worship in the Hall. Mr. McCormick preached.

Apr. 19, *Monday.* At Offices, and in the Hall.

Apr. 20, *Tuesday.* In the Hall. Many yeas and nays.

Apr. 21, *Wednesday.* Very busy in the Hall. Collected trees for my two tubs; filled them with small trees and dirt. At Mr. Dalton's.

Apr. 22, *Thursday.* My Son arrived from the Western Country. Came just at sunset. Put up at the City Hotel.

Apr. 23, *Friday.* Attended to business, and in the Hall.

Apr. 24, *Saturday.* My Son went with me to Alexandria. We crossed the ferry at East Branch, and walked down on the east side of the Potomac. The buds of the trees have been a long time expanding. Many trees had a green appearance in March, but few have their leaves yet much out. The woods generally scarcely appear green. In New England they would have made more progress in one week. The weather has been dry, but rather cool—some days quite cold—and out winds through the month of April.

We crossed the Potomac at the ferry opposite to Alexandria. Went to a public house and dined, rambled over the city, and came up in Mr. Wheat's boat.

Apr. 25, *Lord's Day.* Very warm and clear. I could not prevail upon myself to hear Parkinson. Took Ephraim's horse, and spent the day in the woods toward Bladensburg.

Apr. 26, *Monday.* Attended Congress, and the Committee of Investigation.

Apr. 27, *Tuesday.* Attended Committee.

Apr. 28. Much business done. House disposed to press hard in order to adjourn. Committee together.

April 29, *Thursday.* Committee agreed on a Report—very bad—but we could not prevent it. Fine rain yesterday. Very dry, and waters low, before this rain.

Apr. 30, *Friday.* Attended the House. Members in confusion. Made a collection of old Documents. Went to Georgetown, and finished business there.

May 1, *Saturday.* Preparing for our journey home. Engaged stages. Packing up things. Yesterday engaged Smith's Intelligencer and Washington Federalist.

May 2, *Lord's Day.* Attended at the Hall. Mr. Parkinson preached, on Lot's leaving Sodom. "Flee for thy life, look not back, nor tarry in all the plain," etc.

May 3, *Monday.* Call of the house at 10; just in as the call came to my name. Did little business. Out at the call at 3. House adjourned, about 6 o'clock, to the first Monday in December.

May 4, *Tuesday.* At five o'clock took my leave of my son Ephraim, who set out for the Western Country. At the same time we started for Baltimore. Messrs. Foster, Griswold, Goddard, Davenport, Read, and myself, hired a stage for ourselves at $3½ each, for Baltimore, and no other passengers to be admitted. Lodged at Evans', Baltimore. Mr. Harper waited on us, and we drank tea with him, and Mr. McHenry, at his house.

May 5. *Wednesday.* Went on board a packet, bound to head of Elk, for Frenchtown. Wind favorable down the Patapsco and into Chesapeake Bay, then small, and somewhat ahead; rather calm some of the way. Arrived at Frenchtown between 10 and 11 at night; computed at 70 miles. Our passengers were 22 members of Congress, viz.: Messrs. Foster, Ellery, De Witt Clinton, and Olcott, of the Senate; Judge Foster, Tenney, Upham, Shepard, Hastings, Read, Williams, Griswold, Davenport, Goddard, Tillinghast, Stanton, Elmendorf, Thomas, Bailey, General Smith, Leib, and myself, of the House; and several other passengers. No bed was to be obtained at Frenchtown. We all sat up, or lay on the floor. I slept a little in my chair. Sent on a wagon with our baggage before day.

May 6, *Thursday*. At daylight set out in three stages. Traveled 18 miles to New Castle, on the Delaware, where we breakfasted. Went on board the packet for Philadelphia. Left General Shepard and Mr. Upham. Wind directly ahead. fresh breeze. Very pleasant prospects on both sides of the river, Arrived at Philadelphia at 4 P. M. Put up at Hardy's, in Market, between Third and Fourth streets, south. Good house, but very dear. Called on Mr. Mandeville.

May 7, *Friday*. Judge Tenney and I went to Peale's Museum. Viewed the skeleton of the mammoth. Much larger than I expected; 11 feet high; from the ends of the horns to the end of the tail, 29½ feet; from end of the nose to the tail, 16 feet; 5 claws on the hind, and 4 on the fore feet (or 5 fore and 4 hind). Teeth appear carnivorous. Dined at Hardy's. Set out in the Stage with Messrs. Judge Foster, Tenney, Tillinghast, Stanton, Ellery, Hastings, and Thomas, for New York. Arrived at Trenton, about sunset, and lodged.

May 8, *Saturday*. Breakfasted at Princeton. Dined at Elizabethtown, and arrived at New York at six. Put up at Mrs. Anthony's. Spent the evening with Captain Wm. Dodge. We put our baggage on board the packet for Providence.

May 9, *Lord's Day*. Went on board the Captain Currier, for Providence. Sailed about 11 o'clock. Colonel Hitchborn, General Hull, Dr. Eustis, a Miss Morton, Mrs. Benny, and Miss Hull, daughter of General Hull, and several gentlemen, passengers; also Mr. Ellery, Mr. Tillinghast, Judge Foster, and Judge Tenney. Passed Hell Gate at 12, high water. Becalmed in the Sound, and made little headway. Slept in the cabin, without taking off my clothes.

May 10, *Monday*. Made our course along the shore of Long Island. Wind rather ahead. Got abreast of New London at daybreak. Slept in my clothes.

May 11, *Tuesday*. Small wind, nearly ahead. Arrived at the wharf in Newport at 11 o'clock P. M. Went on board a packet for Providence. Slept in my clothes. Small wind, and not fair—N.E.

May 12, *Wednesday*. Arrived at Providence at 8 in the morning. Judge Foster, Tenney, Read, and myself, took passage in a stage for Boston. Dined at Wrentham. Called on Mr. Chickering. Arrived in Boston at sunset. Very severe N.E. storm. Extremely wet. Lodged at Mr. Williams'.

May 13, *Thursday*. Mr. Read and I came on in the Salem stage. Arrived at Dr. Torrey's at 11 o'clock. Got Mr. Poole's horse, arrived at home at 5 o'clock P. M., and had the satisfaction to find all well. Visited the near neighbors.

May 14, *Friday*. Several people here. Visited the sick.

May 18, *Tuesday*. Attended Quarterly Fast at Mr. Webster's. . . . The people in Chebacco and Town very complaisant.

May 24, *Monday*. About home, very busy. Much company from morning till night.

May 25, *Tuesday*. Went to Boston with Colonel Dodge. Attended the meeting of American Academy of Arts and Sciences. Thin Meeting. Paid assessment. Presented to the Academy Mr. Paykull's work, and Mr. Swartz' Obs. Bot. Occident., and the Census of the United States for 1801. Nominated Mr. Paykull to be a member of the Academy. Dined with Dr. Dexter—very agreeable company. Slept at Mr. Williams'.

May 26, *Wednesday*. Election day. Breakfasted at Dr. Morse's. Attended at State House. Met with General Wadsworth, we walked in the procession with the Representatives to the Meeting House. I dined at Mr. Darby's. At Convention was appointed Chairman of the Committee to meet with the Committee of the Congregational Charitable Society. Drank tea with Judge Sullivan. Supped at Mr. Hitchborn's.

May 27, *Thursday*. Attended Convention and made report. Attended service, gave 1 dol'r, etc. Dined at Dr. Thatcher's with the Governor, Lt. Governor, Pres't Senate, Speaker of the House, etc. After dinner came to Dr. Torrey's.

June 5, *Saturday*. Things came from Washington by Captain Cheever. Fair. Set out trees from Washington—mostly alive. Flowers in pots mostly destroyed. Tube-roses in a good state, and some of the hyacinths.

June 7, *Monday*. About home. Mr. Blanchard and Colonel Pickering spent the afternoon here.

June 10, *Thursday*. Betsey Cutler married Fitch Poole.* Dr. Torrey and wife, Major Osborn and wife, Mr. Poole's mother, and his brother, Ward Poole, all the company we had, came to dine. Marriage in the afternoon. Tarried to tea. Colonel Brown and wife, in the evening supped with us.

June 19, *Saturday*. Dr. Morse and lady here. Mr. Hitchborn and lady from Boston. Unable to prepare for to-morrow as I intended.

July 12, *Monday*. Patrick De Wise and Nicholas Ellison, from Salem, came to school. Captain Silsbee and mother drank tea with us.

July 22, *Thursday*. Went to Salem. At Mr. Dow's lecture. Drank tea at Captain Gardner's.

July 23, *Friday*. Dined at Mr. Blanchard's in company with Colonel Pickering, Colonel Thorndike and lady, Mr. Putnam and lady, and several others.

July 24, *Saturday*. Thunder storm, much hay out, greatly injured. Went to Squam. Very late and dark before I arrived. Got lost in the woods, and left my sulky. Lodged at Major Kimball's.

July 25, *Lord's Day*. Preached at Squam, full meeting, 16 children baptized. Mr. Noyes preached for Mr. Forbes, who preached at old parish, Beverly. A Mr. Bates, a young candidate, preached for me. Drank tea and lodged at Mr. Baker's, very kind.

July 26, *Monday*. Mr. Baker, Major Kimball, Captain Denison, Mr. Day and others, with Mr. Noyes, made a fishing party. Went to the Light-house, caught plenty of fish from the rocks and in a boat. Cooked the fish, and dined under a large oak tree, near the shore. Excellent dinner. Spent the time very agreeably. Set out home at 3 P. M. Called at Mr. Forbes' and Captain Ellwell's at the harbor.

---

* Fitch Poole, born Feb. 13, 1772, died Jan. 23, 1838. He was a pupil of Dr. Cutler, and married his youngest daughter, Elizabeth, and was many years deacon in the South Church, Danvers. Naturally amiable, and giving evidence of early piety, his life was one of great beauty and usefulness, full of faith and benevolence. Mrs. Poole died, April 22, 1854.

August 3, *Tuesday*. Quarterly fast at Mr. Frisbie's. Mr. Frisbie began with prayer and I preached A. M. Mr. Dana prayed and Mr. Webster preached P. M.

August 5, *Thursday*. Mr. Perkins, of Connecticut, member of Congress, and one of our family at Washington, called on me on his way to the eastward.

Aug. 19, *Thursday*. Major Swasey, Mr. Burnham, Mr. Andrews, and Mr. Jos. Dana, jun., came in the afternoon for the purpose of making me a visit. Spent the afternoon very agreeably.

Sept. 23, *Thursday*. Went to Salem on account of the Att'y-General's attacks on me and Mr. Hastings. Consulted with Mr. Cushing. Attended Mr. Dow's lecture.

Sept. 27, *Monday*. Attacked last night about midnight with the spasmodic asthma. The spasms so severe as to compel me to walk the floor. Could neither lie down nor sit in a chair nor bed. A very distressing night.

Oct. 10, *Lord's Day*. Preached and administered the sacrament. Very feeble and faint, much fatigued. Pretty full meeting.

Oct. 28, *Thursday*. Captain Brown and wife, Mrs. Cutler, and myself, went to Salem and Danvers on a visit. At Mr. Berry's, dined at Dr. Torrey's, drank tea at Mr. Poole's. Came home in the evening with my chaise-lantern.

Nov. 1, *Monday*. Representatives for the 8th Congress elected in Massachusetts. Many of our people declined voting on account of my being the Federal candidate, and tho' unwilling to be active in my leaving them, would not give their votes for any other person. Votes, 54 for me ; 1 for Dr. Kittredge.

Nov. 11, *Thursday*. Dr. Torrey and wife, Mr. Poole and wife, Mr. Berry and wife, and Charles Cutler, spent the day, and dined by special invitation.

Nov. 12, *Friday*. Mr. Berry and wife went home, and Charles went with them. He proposes to sail for Norfolk with Captain Whitridge, on his way to the western country.

Nov. 16, *Tuesday.* Very busy in putting up a box of specimens for Mr. Paykull and Dr. Swartz.

Nov. 20, *Saturday.* Much company. Putting up specimens. Studied hard.

Nov. 22, *Lord's Day.* Preached. A remarkably full meeting. Sacrament. Many strangers. The people supposed this would be the last day before I set out for Congress, but not being able to get a supply on Thanksgiving day, I was obliged to postpone my journey.

Nov. 25. Thanksgiving day in Massachusetts; also in Connecticut, New Hampshire, and Rhode Island. Preached to a very full meeting. Took my leave of the people. Exercises began at 10, out before 12 o'clock. Dined and set out for Boston with Temple.

[The account of his journey to Washington is omitted.]

Dec. 6, *Monday.* Left Baltimore at three in the morning. Breakfasted at Woodward's. Arrived at the city of Washington, half-past one. Went to the Hall with Mr. Bishop. Congress had met, and not being a quorum; had just adjourned. We left our baggage and dined at Turncliff's, with a large number of members of Congress. General Shepard, Mr. Upham, and myself, finding it very difficult to get lodgings, went to the point to Speak's, and sent for our baggage. Agreed to tarry with him for the present (until we could find other lodgings), at $6½ per week.

Dec. 7, *Tuesday.* House met, and being a sufficient number, formed a House. The Senate did not make a quorum, and we adjourned.

Dec. 8, *Wednesday.* House met, and not being a quorum in the Senate, immediately adjourned. I went to Georgetown, called on Mr. Dalton, Mr. Dodge, Mr. Balch, and Mr. King.

Dec. 9, *Thursday.* House convened, appointed several Committees. I was put on the Committee of Claims (to my sorrow, as this Committee has more to do than any one Committee of Congress). Not being able to get lodgings to our minds, we have pretty much concluded to remain here. The house is small. Mr. Upham and I can take a room, but it is small, otherwise a good one. The family appear agreeable.

Dec. 11, *Saturday.* Went to Alexandria. . . . Returned in the evening.

Dec. 12, *Sunday.* Attended worship in our Hall. Dr. Gant preached, A. M.; Mr. McCormick, P. M. Meetings very thin, but the President, his two daughters, and a grand-son, attended in the morning.

Dec. 13, *Monday.* The Senate formed a quorum, and attempted to elect a President pro tem., in the absence of the Vice-President of the United States, but made no choice. Dined with the President. We were the first company invited by billets sent into the Hall. Our billets were sent last Friday. Our company were: Messrs. Dana, Shepard, J. C. Smith, Davenport, Perkins, Van Rensselaer, Stanly, Read, Dennis, Woods, and myself. The President's two daughters, Mrs. Randolph and Mrs. Eppes, were at the table. They appeared well-accomplished women—very delicate and tolerably handsome. The President was very social. I presented him a specimen of wadding for Ladies' cloaks and of bed-ticks from the Beverly Factory. We took coffee in the evening, and came away at eight. It is a matter of curiosity that the first public dining company should be all Federalists.

Dec. 14, *Tuesday.* Joint Committee sent to the President. House adjourned early. General Wadsworth and Judge Tillinghast took lodgings with us. Judge Symmes came here, and continues. We find ourselves agreeably situated, and propose to tarry.

Dec. 15, *Wednesday.* The President's message delivered by Mr. Lewis. Smith printed it in a supplement to his paper. Sent ten copies to my friends by this day's mail. Dr. Gant elected chaplain by the Senate, and Mr. Parkinson by the House.

Dec. 17, *Friday.* Very cold. River frozen over. Snowed. Congress adjourned until Monday.

Dec. 21, *Tuesday.* Rainy day. Attended Committee. Little business before the House.

Dec. 23, *Thursday.* Completed my letters for Dr. Swartz and Mr. Paykull. Attended Congress.

Dec. 25, *Saturday.* Christmas. Went to Georgetown. Attended the Roman Catholic Church. Much insignificant ceremony; poor sermon, but excellent singing. Returned and dined.

Dec. 26, *Lord's Day.* Attended at the Hall. A Mr. Hargrove, of Baltimore, a Swedenborgian, preached. Gave his creed in part; not very exceptionable. President attended, although a rainy day. In the afternoon, attended at the Treasury. Heard a newly-imported Scotchman—pretty good speaker.

Dec. 27, *Monday.* Not much business done in the House. In the evening the Swedenborgian preached in the Hall, by particular desire. Though the Hall was very thin yesterday, it was very full this evening. Most of the members were present, and a number of ladies. He told us stories about Dr. Smith and T. Paine—a little about correspondencies. It was miserable, on the whole.

Dec. 28, *Tuesday.* Attended Committee and the Hall. Mr. McHenry's letters read. Wrote a number of letters in the evening.

Dec. 29, *Wednesday.* Little business. Wrote to General Putnam, Ephraim, and Temple.

Dec. 30, *Thursday.* Very little done in the House.

Dec. 31, *Friday.* Message from the President, early in the morning, on New Orleans business. Doors closed, and continued till late. Injunction of secrecy not taken off. This day, secured a Patent for Colonel James Burnham for making wadding for Ladies' use, and lodged a specimen with the Secretary of State.

January 1, 1803, *Saturday.* About 12, I went with Mr. Tillinghast in a hack to the President's, to pay him the compliments of the season. We found in the octagon hall, which seemed to be improved as a levee room, a large company of ladies and gentlemen; the Heads of Departments, Foreign Ministers, Charge de Affaires, and Consuls; strangers, members of both Houses, both Federalists and Democrats. Among the ladies, were the President's daughters, Mrs. Pechon, Mrs. Madison * and her sister, Miss Payne; ladies of members of Congress, and some very elderly ladies, whom I did not know. The entertainment was wine, punch, and cake. We went to Georgetown and returned to dine.

[In a letter to his daughter, a fragment only of which remains, Dr. Cutler writes of this reception, as follows: New Year's day is always observed here as a day of festivity by the Roman Catholics and some other denominations. . . . This year it was observed as a festal day in high style at the President's house. I went with a number of Federal members between eleven and twelve. As soon as I came in, the President applied to me for further information respecting the piece of wadding on his table, where it had remained from the time I left it, for the purpose of showing it to company; and the two samples of bed-ticking, which I had shown him, and which I had in my pocket-book. These specimens of American manufactures afforded the ladies much satisfaction, especially the wadding, which was, indeed, extremely neat. Their fertile imaginations suggested a great number of uses besides that of cloaks and spencers—such as quilts for beds, gentlemen's as well as ladies' weather-coats, etc. These specimens were pronounced much preferable and cheaper than that imported from Europe. The conversation was quite promiscuous, in small companies, some sitting, some standing. I can not omit to mention that, almost as soon as I entered, I observed the Attorney-General, in a distant part of the room, conversing . . . She wore a head-dress like a white turban. I had sometimes remarked a very large cross suspended from her neck, but on this day I did not think to take notice. This circumstance led me to suspect that she professes to be a

---

* This lady [Mrs. Madison] was Mrs. Todd. She was originally a Virginian, and her family were of the Society of Friends. . . . She has a fine person and a most engaging countenance, which pleases, not so much from mere symmetry or complexion, as from expression. Her smile, her conversation, and her manners are so engaging that it is no wonder that such a young widow, with her fine blue eyes and large share of animation, should be indeed a *queen of hearts.—Dr. Mitchell's Letters to his Wife from Washington* (*Harper's Monthly, April*, 1879).

Roman Catholic, which is the religion of many of the principal families in Virginia and Maryland, and perhaps of more than half of this City and Georgetown. But Mrs. Eppes and her sister, as well as the President, have constantly attended worship at the Capitol during this session.

After we left the Levee room, as we were passing the great hall, I happened to think of the "mammoth cheese," and asked one of the servants in livery in waiting whether it was still in the Mammoth room. He replied, it was, and I might see it if I pleased. I went with a member who happened to be wishing for another look at it. The President had just told us, when we talked with him, that sixty pounds had been taken out of the middle, in consequence of the puffing up and symptoms of decay.]

Jan. 4, *Tuesday.* New Orleans affair—closed doors.

Jan. 8, *Saturday.* Paid our respects to Mr. Madison, in return for his calling on us. General Wadsworth, Mr. Tillinghast, and myself left our cards.

Jan. 9, *Sunday.* Attended in the morning at the Capitol. Mr. Laurie, a young Scotch gentleman, preached an excellent sermon. Very full Assembly. Many of the members present, and remarkably attentive.

Jan. 14, *Friday.* Did not go out. Had the severest attack of Asthma in the night I have experienced since I left home.

Jan. 18, *Tuesday.* Attended Committee of Claims.

Jan. 28, *Friday.* Attended Committee of Claims. Presented Memorial to the House from the Merchants, Ship-owners, and Ship-builders in N. Port, signed by 121. Committed to the Committee of the whole House, to whom was committed the Report of the Committee of Commerce and Manufactures, and the repeal of countervailing duties, and was ordered to be printed for the use of members.

Jan. 29, *Saturday.* Congress did not sit. Dined with the President. Dr. Gant, Mr. Willard, Mr. Otis, Mr. Templeman, Messrs. Hillhouse, Van Rensselaer, Wadsworth, Tillinghast, and myself. Although two clergymen were present, no blessing was asked. President proposed to me to purchase for him $100 worth of bed-ticking.

Jan. 30, *Sunday.* Mr. Willard, of Portsmouth, New Hamp-

LIBRARY
ILLINOIS

shire, an Episcopalian, preached in the Hall. Pretty good sermon. A rather labored and tinsel composition, pretty handsomely delivered. His figures well managed, voice good, and action very well.

Jan. 31, *Monday.* Doors closed on Missouri business. Invitation from Mr. Balch to dine on Saturday.

Feb. 1, *Tuesday.* Attended the House and Committee of Claims. Only common-place business. Finished my letters to Dr. Stokes (England), Dr. Swartz and Mr. Paykull (Sweden).

Feb. 2, 3, 4. Attended Congress and Committee.

Feb. 5, *Saturday.* Dined at Mr. Balch's, Georgetown. Messrs. Hillhouse, Foster, John C. Smith, Dana, Goddard, Mattoon, Hastings, Davenport, Colonel Stoddard, and others. A good dinner. Retired early.

Feb. 7–11. Attended Committee Meetings and at the House.

Feb. 12, 13. Very rainy. Did not go out.

Feb. 14–18. Attended Committee and Congress. Severe snow-storm. At the Navy Office did business. Snow 18 inches deep.

Feb. 19, *Saturday.* House sat till very late. Felt much of the Asthma last night and to-day.

Feb. 22, *Tuesday.* Attended Committee and House. Extremely unwell. Unable to attend the celebration of the birth of General Washington. The morning was ushered in by the firing cannon at the Navy Yard, but it is not known to me by whose orders. It has excited much remark. Cannon were also fired at Alexandria. Colors were displayed through the day on all the frigates. At five o'clock, the Federalists of both houses sat down to an elegant entertainment at Stilles'. The Judges of the Supreme Court were invited, and were present, as were some other gentlemen. I had subscribed, and should with pleasure have attended as a duty, but was obliged on account of my distress with the Asthma to send in my excuse. Am informed that every thing was conducted with the utmost decorum and elegance. The toasts very sentimental. The company all retired at an early hour. I spent a dull and painful evening alone in my chamber.

Feb. 23–26. Unable to go out. Much pain from asthmatic complaints.

Feb. 27, *Lord's Day.* So much indisposed, did not venture to go to meeting. A Mr. Campbell, from Carlisle, Pennsylvania (or its vicinity), preached. He was said by all the members I have heard speak of him to be the best preacher they ever heard. His text, "Perfecting holiness in the fear of the Lord." His plan, to show the excellence of religion, and the importance of a truly religious character.

Mar. 1, *Tuesday.* Remarkably cold day. Attended House; much to do. House called members. Packing trunks. Settled with most people.

Mar. 2, *Wednesday.* House sat late. Came home to dinner. Packing trunks. Shall send one trunk to the Capitol, to the care of Mr. Claxton, the door-keeper, and leave one in the care of Mr. Speak, to be sent to Alexandria, to be put on board vessel for Salem.

Mar. 3, *Thursday.* Major Peabody, of Newburyport, came to me in the Hall, and informed me that Captain Carlton was at Georgetown. I went and put on board a barrel of flour, and directed Mr. Speak to send my trunk to go on board to the care of Mr. Allen Dodge, and paid one dollar freight for each. The vessel to sail to-morrow.

Did business at the Offices. House adjourned to dine, and met again. At fifteen minutes after twelve at night, the House adjourned *sine die.* The House very thin for some time before adjournment.

WASHINGTON, *Jan.* 3, 1803.

DR. JOSEPH TORREY.

My Dear Sir:—Your last favor, of December 11, should have received an earlier answer, had not my leisure time been wholly occupied in transacting some private business which required immediate attention. In answer to your inquiries respecting Paine, I hear very little said about him here. You see by his fourth letter that his "useful labors" are to be suspended during the session. I have not heard of his being at the President's since the commencement of the session, and it is believed that Mr. Jefferson sensibly feels the severe, though just, remarks which have been made on his inviting him to this country. You see by the Message, that courting popularity is his darling object, but we have convincing proof that his caressing of Paine has excited his fears. He and his family have constantly attended public worship in the Hall. On the first Sabbath before the Chaplains were elected, and when few members had arrived, Dr. Gant proposed, on Saturday, to preach the next day, when the President, his daughter and grandson, and Mr. Lewis, attended. On the third Sabbath, it was very rainy, but his ardent zeal brought him through the rain and on horseback to the Hall. Although this is no kind of evidence of any regard to religion, it goes far to prove that the idea of bearing down and overturning, our religious institutions, which, I believe, has been a favorite object, is now given up. The political necessity of paying some respect to the religion of the country is felt. Paine's venom against the character of the great Washington was occasioned by his not interfering on his behalf when he was confined in France, and any affront from Mr. Jefferson would induce the same kind of treatment. I can not believe it will be in the power of this degraded wretch to do much mischief. It is certain the more sensible Democrats here view him with contempt, and there are very few so abandoned as openly to associate with him. He lives at Lovell's hotel, who has many lodgers. The members who are there are not willing to acknowledge they have any society with him. He dines at the public table, and, as a show, is as profitable to Lovell as an *Ourang Outang*, for many strangers who come to the city feel a curiosity to see the creature. They go to Lovell's and call for the show—even some members of Congress have done it. I have not yet seen him, nor shall I go out of my way for the sight. He has not, I believe, been in the Hall.

There has been an evident change in the conduct of Mr. Jefferson with respect to the Federal party in Congress. His first public attentions were paid to them. I happened myself to be one of the first party invited publicly to dine, and I believe most of the Federalists were invited before any of the Democrats, in the usual way. His dress has been quite decent, and, to me, he has appeared to exert himself in sociability. But he has shown a marked neglect to Mr. Griswold and Mr. Rutledge. It is a great object with the party to get them out of Congress, but Mr. Griswold will remain two years longer, and the elections in South Carolina have not yet taken place.

We have done very little business. Many members have gone to spend the holidays with their friends. On these days the Virginians do no business. Of course, nothing can be done by Congress. It is expected most of them will return in the course of this week. We shall then know something, for at present we know very little of what is to be done this session. The discriminating duties on foreign ships is to be taken off, and the Mint destroyed. There is also a bill for revising the impost laws, and it is suspected the object is to gain popularity by lowering the duties on Salt, Brown Sugar, Tea, Coffee, and increase them upon other articles. . . .

With cordial affection and esteem,

Your affectionate parent,

M. CUTLER.

DR. JOSEPH TORREY. WASHINGTON, *Jan.* 11, 1803.

My Dear Sir:— . . . You see the Message is dressed in the most smooth and popular strains, exceedingly guarded, and artfully designed to beguile the unthinking multitude. The most exceptional part (setting aside the pompous declamation about the success of the measures of Government under the present administration) is the representations of the state of the finances. It is calculated to impose a gross deception on the public mind. It has not yet been in my power to give this subject any particular consideration. I can at present only observe that there were a greater number of outstanding bonds paid in this year than any former time. The actual revenue of the year has decreased. But, to what is it owing that the Treasury is in so flourishing a state? Certainly not to any thing done by the present administration. They have diminished instead of increasing it. If the statements are just, all this prosperity has resulted from systems established by the Federalists. But you will hear more on this subject before Congress rises.

The most interesting subject which has yet come before Congress is the communication respecting the violation of the Spanish treaty by the Governor and Intendent at New Orleans. The last, communicated on Friday, was of a very serious nature, although Smith has given the matter a different cast in his paper of that day, and his account will probably go into your papers. The doors of the House were closed during the reading and attending to this business, which lasted the most of the day. As the injunction of secrecy has not been taken off, I am not at liberty to give you any particular information. But I can consistently observe that this affair, beyond almost a possibility of a doubt, will be attended with very serious consequences to this country. It is well known that our Executive is viewed in Europe as weak and timid, and it is my opinion the time is not far distant when it will be generally acknowledged in this country. There is nothing so likely to bring about a change in the politics of the people over the mountains, and some of the Southern States, as this affair. The whole depends upon a single fact, which appears to me hardly to admit of a doubt, but possibly may be otherwise. You will see in the papers an account of what has taken place between Mr. Rutledge and Mr. Ellery. It is to be deeply regretted that so vile a practice as dueling should be countenanced by the example of our national legislature, but I am compelled to say, if ever it was justifiable, it was in this case. I have felt much for Mr. Rutledge. His case is singular; the wickedness of the abuse, if viewed in all its parts, seems unparalleled, and he had no other way of redress. He is far from being disposed to encourage duels, but he is possessed of an undaunted mind, when unjust attacks are made. General Morris, of Vermont, acted as his second, in giving the challenge, in the proposals made after Ellery refused, and was present at the fracas at the Tavern. The account given in the Washington Federalist is entirely correct, and this, I hope, will be inserted in your papers. . . .

Your affectionate parent,

M. Cutler.

WASHINGTON, *Jan.* 15, 1803.

DR. JOSEPH TORREY.

My Dear Sir:—I thank you for your kind favor of December 31st. Your ideas of the Message are correct. It is a smooth, oily, deceptive address, intended to excite the admiration of the people, who are supporting a ruinous administration. We have done very little, and nothing has occurred to excite the spirit of party, until the affairs of New Orleans came before us. But one opinion pervaded the House with regard to a most flagrant violation of treaty, the obligation of the government to assert and support our inalienable right to the navigation of the Mississippi, and the hazard of a war with France, or a dismemberment of the Union. Although there is but one opinion on these great points, the first attempt of the majority was to excite as much as possible the rancor of party. The injunction of secrecy, excepting in some particulars, is taken off. I am now at liberty to say, that I have no doubt of an understanding between the Court of Spain and the government at New Orleans.

Our Executive has probably been very negligent, or his ministers abroad have merited the highest censure respecting this business. In turn, our government has displayed as much weakness as is to be charged anywhere else. We have it now in our power to take spirited measures with little hazard or expense, of which we shall in a short time be deprived. The object is to make a purchase of the Province. This is certainly the best thing that can be done. It will save us from the expenses, hazard, and evils of a war. Individuals will be ready to take the purchase, and future contentions, which we are always to expect, will be at an end. But this is a kind of negotiation very uncertain, and spirited measures, at this moment, would do more than any thing else to insure success. The whole business is now left with the Executive, and Monroe, late Governor of Virginia, is the minister, it is said, who is to be sent on this business. It is yet, I believe, uncertain whether the Judges will or will not undertake to decide on the constitutionality of the Judiciary business. . . .

M. CUTLER.

WASHINGTON, *Jan.* 17, 1803.

CAPTAIN FITCH POOLE.

. . . Government has done all that is intended with regard to the affair at New Orleans, and I must regret that the dignity of the nation has been so much degraded, as well as its interests neglected. There is too much reason to believe foreign powers are encouraged to make aggressions from the contemptuous opinion they have formed of the energies of the present administration. It is strongly suspected that there has been culpable negligence and imbecility of the Executive or Ministers abroad, perhaps in both, and a fear of disclosure has been the ground of the late astonishing refusal of a call for information. But all is of a piece. We have only to wait the issue of measures we can not control. Should Mr. Monroe fail of a purchase, little is to be expected from his negotiations. We know too much of his character, while a Minister in France, to expect it. His adulatory speech to the Directors, when he told them, "The more they whipped us, the better we should love them," will not soon be forgotten.

The sound of war is grating to the nice sensibilities of the Executive, but if France should be so impolite as not to regard our delicate feelings, and takes possession of Louisiana in its present state, war must be the only alternative. The people over the mountains are extremely uneasy, and they must be quieted, or the present current of popularity will be turned into a different channel. The reins of government are completely in the hands of men who mean to guide the Car. The minority can do little more than look on. Measures they would adopt are rejected merely because they have the presumption to propose them. This is a principle which has been openly avowed in the House. After all, it is our consolation that there is "One who is higher than the highest!" The Almighty reigns, and we shall not suffer more than our iniquities deserve. I can not yet believe our nation is ripe for ruin. We have much to lament, and we have much to hope. In due time, a way of escape will be found. A government raised by the basest means, and pursuing unjustifiable measures, will not be permitted long to prosper. I must believe in the Scripture truth, that "A lying tongue is but for a moment." . . . M. CUTLER.

[*Dr. Cutler to his son.*]

WASHINGTON, *Jan.* 21, 1803.

My Dear Son:—Your letter of the 1st instant, in which you remark on the Message and the beginning of a new year, I think I received just as I had finished a long letter to you. . . . Your remarks on the new year are just. We ought to recollect the mercies of the time past, and adore that goodness from which it has flowed. While we mourn our past failings, we are encouraged to plead for future favors and kind aid from heaven, to live more answerable to the great ends for which we were made, and the purposes for which all our blessings are bestowed.

Last evening I received your letter of the 7th, in which you have given me a particular account of the weather. This I wished much to know. But I must confess to you, this letter has given me much uneasiness. It discovers an unsteady, roving state of mind. You appear to complain of the smallness of the farm, and of spending the winter unprofitably, and intimate that the farmer should have a trade, or a large farm and sufficient and profitable help, and that, without these, it will be "difficult for him to appear with decency, much more shine in the polite circles of society." My son, more is implied in these expressions than you have duly weighed and considered. You certainly have the care of a farm sufficiently large to occupy yourself and Bill, with the utmost industry, every hour of your time. If it is not so large as you could wish, why complain, when it has been your lot to be so circumstanced in life? You have all your Father is able to give you. If some have more, have not thousands less? When I was of your age, I had nothing, and no one to help or direct me as to procuring a living in the world. I wanted the wisdom of experience and age. I suffered much for the want of it, and was sensible how much I wanted it. But it was the situation in which Providence had placed me. Through much misfortune and severe trials, I have attained, solely by my own exertions, what I now possess. I knew I had no one under Providence to depend on but myself.

Let me remark to you upon the business on a farm in the winter, and apply it to your case. When you can not go over ~~the~~ ponds, could you not thresh your rye and oats; or haul the rocks, with the cart or drag, off the plow land in the farm; cut up the alders on the upland near the pond, which would help the pasture and make summer wood; go over all the apple trees, and take off all the sprouts and dry limbs; dig up, if there is but little frost, the oak stumps in the farm, which would be a saving of wood. You have more time to attend to your stock. Keep your horse-stable free from dung, for it certainly injures horses to stand in it. Virginians, who have the best in America, clean them several times in a day. Curry your horses well every day, and rub their legs. Curry your cattle well every day. Attend to your sheep; if you can spare it, begin now to give them a little corn and potatoes at least once a day. In bad weather, shell out your corn, attend to your cellar, clean it, put every thing in its place, and whitewash it. In a word, go over the land, look and see if you can do nothing to the fences, or find something to be done in other respects. Look over your nursery and trees in the garden and prune them. If the frost will permit, dig the garden. Wheel the manure where it should lie to be spread. Manure your borders and asparagus bed, if it has not been done before. By this I mean, however, only to turn your attention to these objects, that you may think over how much there is constantly to do on such a farm—far more than you can accomplish. When you have read this, let me beg you to go out to the barn and see whether, if I were to come home at that instant, I should not find some part in a dirty, bad state—horses standing in their dung, not well curried, perhaps not so carefully fed, cattle not curried, flax not all out, or grain not all threshed? Sure I am that, if I were in your place, I should find enough to look after every day, and more than I could accomplish.

But let me further observe. What would be the profit of a large farm if not well managed? The greater would be the care and the more would be the labor. I am certain a farm no larger than ours, if managed to the best advantage, and the stock upon it, is fully sufficient to employ you and Bill, and support such a family as ours. But be this as it may, it is all we can command at present. We can not create property, or, if we could, it would not be best. By industry and prudence we may enlarge it. This should be our object. If my life and health are spared, and no unhappy difficulty intervenes, I do not doubt it. I will add no more on this part.

With respect to "mixing and shining in polite circles," I shall not wonder if you should entertain erroneous and delusive ideas. It is not in polite circles that you are to look for exclusive happiness, nor for extensive information and the most correct opinions. It is not there you will find the most valuable characters, nor the most worthy citizens. It is often the reverse. The difference is not in improved knowledge, but in external manners. It is there you will find much corruption and vice, much of that kind of delusive pleasure which ends in disappointment and often in real misery. Those who take a transient view of them, and only observe their dress, their punctilios of manners, and style in conversation, may look at them with wonder and envy them their happiness; but if you were to mix and associate with them until you had contracted a familiarity, you would feel a conviction that happiness and real pleasures are not often their companions.

I am not, however, opposed to the refinements of society. But I know that young men, who are farmers, and especially situated as you are in the neighborhood of large towns, may become acquainted with that description of good company, which will afford the most rational and substantial enjoyment, without partaking of those evils and vices. This depends upon your own management and exertion.

You say you must delve and labor on a farm. Would you wish to live without labor, and in constant dissipation? Providence has designed that this should not be your lot in life, and you ought to be thankful for it. It is of all situations the most to be deprecated. There are times and seasons for every thing. And every thing that concerns us has a relation to our improvement of time. We should never find time to misspend it. Labor, then, in the proper time for labor; relax, at proper seasons; and associate with the best company within your reach. You will say this is only the vulgar, but you have no occasion to form any intimacy with them. You have acquaintances in Ipswich, which you may visit frequently with little loss of time. You have friends in Danvers, visit them as often as possible, and make it a point to see and contract acquaintance with the most respectable young people in the neighborhood. But resolution and exertion are indispensable. You must not wait for others to become acquainted with you. Find means to make yourself acquainted with them. This can be done. I have known young men that would, and did, form acquaintance with whom they pleased without half the advantages you enjoy. Your family, and your acquirements are sufficient as far as they ought to go. By your own exertions you have it in your power to gain attention, respect, and esteem. Remember, too, that in this way you will enjoy the highest relish of society; too much familiarity often breeds contempt. Intervals of company increases the enjoyment.

You must be sensible; I have often expressed to you my wish that you should associate with good company, and as often as it could be convenient, but, in your situation, it can not be enjoyed every day, and you must submit to your circumstances. When I have endeavored to dissuade you from spending your evenings, in constant succession, with those whom I know could not improve you in manners, in language, or any thing else, but might greatly injure, it was not because I wished to restrain you from society. Those around you are not to be despised; a proper sociability and respect is due them. If you ever rise in reputation, if you become respectable in the world, you must gain the respect and esteem of this class of society; for it makes up the greatest portion of mankind. This, however, you will never attain by too much familiarity, nor by a haughty distance. Study the happy medium; gain their esteem, but let them be sensible that you are placed in that grade of society which is above their level, which they are to look up to with respect. In attaining so important a point, you will find difficulties to encounter, you will sometimes be reproached, perhaps greatly abused, but rise above it, aud, above all, guard yourself against every vulgarity in conduct, in language, or passion. Resolution and perseverance will surmount all you meet with, and every step you take will render the accomplishment of your purpose easier and easier.

I have taken out of the Library of Congress a work which I much wish you could read. It is entitled the *The Travels of Anacharsis the Younger*, was written by *M. Barthelemy*, one of the French Directory, who was banished to S. America, but made his escape, and is now in England. It is the History of Greece, collected from all the Grecian writers, with great skill and judgment, and gives the history of that Empire from its most ancient date down to about 100 years before the time of our Savior. It is in seven volumes, and, besides being a true history, is filled with anecdotes of all their great men, their customs, habits, manners, government, and religion. Besides an improving and entertaining style, it is one of the most useful books for a young man to read I have ever met with. No nation has produced so many great characters as the Greek. Their governments, among the different republics, were a kind of democracy, in which every citizen had a chance to rise to the highest honor. Great numbers from the lowest rose to the highest eminence. He is particular in relating the ways and means by which they gained an ascendency; the difficulties they encountered; their astonishing assiduity and perseverance. This part is so interesting, that a young man of any laudable ambition, or purity of taste, must be fired with emulation. Every virtue was cultivated, every vice was guarded against, without which all their exertions were in vain. Virtue, probity, and honor, was every thing. I can not attempt to give you a description. I am sure you must be delighted with it. If possible, when I return, I will endeavor to procure it for you. I have cursorily run over the first 5 vols. But being on the Committee of Claims, and frequently on other Committees, I have not half the leisure I expected. My daily long walks to and from the Capitol, and other business, occupying much time.

I have written you a long letter, and in great haste, but will you, my dear son, read it, and read it again? Remember it is from a parent who feels all the tender concern and affection for you which it is possible for a parent to feel; whose comfort and happiness is interwoven with yours, who can sacrifice his own ease and every thing he has for you; whose expectations have been greatly raised and who dotes upon your respectability in life. I thank you for expressing yourself so freely. I hope, if I live to return, we may converse more freely and frequently on those subjects, which so much concern your future welfare and happiness, than we have ever yet done. There is often a false delicacy in parents and children in freely communicating their sentiments on subjects which intimately concern the happiness of both. It is wrong. Let us not indulge it. . . .

Pray write as often as you can. No letter from your mother, my cordial love to her, and all friends.

Your affectionate parent,

M. CUTLER.

[*From Rev. Dr. Morse.*]

CHARLESTOWN, *Feb.* 3, 1803.

To DR. CUTLER.

My Dear Sir:—I have time only for a brief reply to your acceptable favor of the 14th ult., which came to hand in due course. The information it contained justified my own apprehensions respecting the Louisiana business. The obstinate denial of information is certainly indicative of "fear of exposing culpable neglect and imbecility in the Executive and Minister abroad." Accounts later than your letter intimate the probability of war with Spain. Would not such an event, more than any other, tend to increase Federalism, and unite the country? You have better means of forming a judgment on this subject than I can have.

The President's scheme of a *Dry Dock* at Washington, appears to me in a high degree visionary and ridiculous, and I can not suppose that he has influence enough to procure its adoption by Congress. So far as my information extends, this town is far preferable in every view, for the purpose of erecting a *Dry Dock*, and if the interests of the country are consulted, I presume it will be fixed here.

To-day the legislature choose a Senator in place of Mr. Mason.—

Feb. 4. I was abruptly broken off yesterday. Mr. J. Q. Adams is chosen in the House of Representatives in place of Mr. Mason. The Senate will probably concur on Tuesday next. It was the intention of some of the Federalists to have chosen Mr. Pickering. He had, the second trial, 79 votes; 7 more, which were given for Mr. Adams, would have made a choice. It was agreed that, if Mr. P. was not chosen the second time, to unite on Mr. Adams, which was done. It is hoped that Mr. P. will be chosen in place of Mr. Foster, as it is understood he intends to resign. Matters were not managed quite as they ought to have been, else Mr. P. would have now been chosen, and Mr. A. in place of Mr. F.; and this was intended, but old prejudices were suffered to operate. I hope they will operate no farther.

Yes, our brother Thacher is no more! His loss is felt. It will not be easy to supply his place. I wish they may get a good man to succeed him. I have my fears.

Yesterday week Mrs. Morse presented me with a fine daughter, which is our only one. All very well.

This town is considerably agitated, at this time, in consequence of an application from the pew-holders in my parish for an act of incorporation. The Jacobins dislike it, because it will curtail their power to do mischief. The prayer of the petitioners I expect will be granted.

I will write again soon. In the meantime, believe me very sincerely and respectfully yours. JED'H MORSE.*

---

* Jedediah Morse, D.D., was born, Woodstock, Connecticut, 1761; died, New Haven, 1826. He graduated at Yale, 1783; was tutor, 1786 to 1787; pastor of the First Congregational Church at Charlestown, Massachusetts, 1789 to 1820. Dr. Morse is the father of American Geography. He prepared, in 1784, the first work of the kind in this country, for the use of the schools in New Haven. This was followed by larger works, the more important of which were republished in England. Ebenezer Hazard, Jeremy Belknap, Thomas Hutchins, and Dr. Cutler, all furnished material for his work on American Geography, published, 1791. He was much occupied in religious controversy;

WASHINGTON, *Feb.* 21, 1803.

MRS. POOLE.

My Dear Daughter:—I send you a thousand thanks for your good letter of January 9. I wish you had made it longer. You seem to have left off writing by the time you had got your pen well moistened with ink. Letter writing is certainly an agreeable and valuable accomplishment, which can only be learned by practice. You have nothing to do but to habituate yourself to it. The more you write, the more you will find to write about, and the more pleasant will be the task. I should feel it a pleasure, were I not generally obliged to write faster than I can think. The letters I am obliged to write while I am here, are so numerous I am compelled to write them as fast as I can drive my pen. This I find frequently very disagreeable. The most natural, and the most pleasing way of writing letters seems to be to write very much as we should converse with our friend when we are together.

I am under great obligations for the pleasing letters Mr. Poole has been so obliging as to favor me with since I have been here. I wished for more. The Doctor is so busy with his *Ipecac*, and *Tartar emetic*, I hardly get a line from him, though he can write with the utmost facility. Temple has not written so frequently this winter as the last; he has had his time more occupied. But I am much pleased with the improvement he has made, and the ambition he discovers to excel in this valuable accomplishment.

I can write you nothing particular from this city. The part of the city where I live is quite remote from any company, besides the lodgers in the house. I found myself frequently so unwell, and in hazard of taking cold, I have hardly

---

was prominent in establishing the Theological Seminary at Andover; was sole editor of the *Panoplist* from 1806 to 1811; and, in 1820, was commissioned by the United States government to visit the Indian tribes in the North-west. He was an active member of the Massachusetts Historical Society, and of other scientific bodies. Dr. Morse married Miss Breese in 1789. Samuel Finley Breese Morse, one of the inventors of the telegraph, was their eldest son.—*See Drake's Dict. Am. Biog.*

spent an evening abroad this winter. At Mr. King's, last winter, we had frequently very agreeable company in the family; here we have none. I very much miss the amusement Miss Anna King used to afford us with her Forte-Piano, and excellent voice. Some little time ago I dined at Mr. Balch's, at Georgetown. Our company was large, mostly members of Congress. Miss Anna was there. She is the most intimate friend and companion of Miss Harriet Balch. They attend together the boarding-school, dancing-school, and Assembly. Mr. and Mrs. King were invited, but unable to attend. My health did not permit me, as the weather was, to stay to tea.

I lately dined at the President's. We had not a large company. A circumstance took place which, though I had no concern in it, rendered the entertainment rather unpleasant. The company invited, as usual, were all Federalists. In the number were four Connecticut members, who, feeling resentment because the President had neglected to invite Mr. Griswold, Mr. Bayard, and Mr. Rutledge, during the session, refused to go. They answered his billets by assigning, in pretty plain terms, the reason. It was proposed to me to refuse in the same way, but I declined to do it. No one felt more resentment at the pointed neglect shown those gentlemen than I did, but I thought it a very improper way of expressing our resentment. Invitations to dine are mere compliments, which every gentleman has an undoubted right to exercise as he pleases. If I am invited to dine, and any of the company are disagreeable to me, I may, with propriety, refuse to go. But, if a gentleman who invites me does not choose to invite my friend, I have no right to complain. But so it was. When the President found they had refused, he invited some gentlemen from Georgetown. This circumstance being known, had an evident effect upon the sociability of the company. For a time it was so apparent at table, I felt very disagreeably myself. But, to get rid of the awkwardness we all seemed to feel, a subject occurred to me which I well knew the President always delighted to talk about. I began inquiries about his travels in France, the quality of different kinds of fruit, what their usual deserts were at table, their great varieties of dishes, etc. We went on with the conversation very pleasantly, with scarcely a word from any other person, till we had finished our ice cream. When the wine began to pass round the table a little more freely, all their tongues began to be in motion. We spent the evening tolerably agreeably.

So, my dear Eliza, I have told you every thing I can think of, and have nearly finished my paper. I feel extremely anxious to set out on my journey home, but not without apprehensions how I shall find myself affected by the stage. Think of taking as much water carriage as I can. It is expected at this season the traveling will be bad. I never have thought so much about a journey before in my life. If I leave the city on the day I expect to do, 4th of March, it is not probable I shall be able to write again to my friends at Danvers. But, if my health should not permit me to set out, or I should be so unwell as not to be able to proceed, I will write immediately. If you receive no letters, you may conclude I am on my way.

I shall inclose to Mr. Poole a "Port Folio." I hope you find these papers afford you entertainment. I have found time barely to cast my eye over them. Some I have not read at all. But I would advise you to read them. The Editor is a man of correct morals. It is said this paper has done much good, and is highly esteemed by the most respectable circles of ladies in Philadelphia.

But I will relieve your patience with the assurance that I am, most affectionately,

Your tender parent,
M. CUTLER.

CHAPTER XVI.

THIRD SESSION IN CONGRESS—DIARY, 1803—LETTERS TO HIS FAMILY FROM WASHINGTON—DIARY, 1804—LETTERS TO HIS FAMILY AND DR. DANA—IMPEACHMENT OF JUDGE CHASE—DIARY, 1804.

Sept. 23, 1803, *Friday.* Attempting to stop some cattle back of the Meeting House, I fell upon a large round timber and fractured two ribs; pain extreme. Taken up and brought into the house.

Sept. 27, *Tuesday.* Judge Pickering here.

Oct. 5, *Wednesday.* At 5 o'clock set out (from Boston) for Washington, in company with Mr. Pickering. At the stage-house, found Mr. Cutts and a son of General Dearborn (the Secretary of War). Went to East Sudbury to breakfast. We had an extra and very easy carriage. My side gave me much uneasiness, and was so painful at Brookfield that Mr. Pickering proposed to let the stage go on. We tarried at the tavern.

[On October 6th, he writes from Draper's tavern, Brookfield, to his son-in-law, Captain Fitch Poole, as follows:

My Dear Sir:—I was very fortunate in having an easy carriage as far as Worcester, where we dined yesterday. I had much less pain, so far, than I expected, but here we made a change much for the worse. Another unfortunate circumstance, for me, the stages run from Boston to Wilbraham, 87 miles, which is 24 miles beyond this tavern. In the afternoon my side was very painful, and the pain increased by the rapid driving of the stage. Though I intended to have gone on, Mr. Pickering insisted on my stopping and resting until I was better able to travel, and on stopping with me. We arrived here at seven in the evening, and had our baggage taken out. By taking an opiate, I had a very comfortable night. To-day my side is very sore, but I have little or no pain. Mr. Pickering and I have been walking about, and I now feel very well. The Boston stage will be here at six this evening, when we intend to set out again and go on. I feel under the greatest obligation to Mr. Pickering, who is determined not to leave me. Indeed, I find him more to me, in my present situation, than I could have possibly conceived. I will write you from Hartford. Your affectionate Parent,

M. CUTLER.]

Oct. 6, *Thursday.* We spent the day in Brookfield. Visited Mr. Ward and the family of Judge Foster, who is gone to the eastward. At 8 o'clock at night, set out in the mail stage, and traveled all night without sleep. Arrived at Sykes', in Suffield, at daybreak.

Oct. 7, *Friday.* Went on to Hartford to breakfast. Dined at N. Haven. Went on and traveled all night; little or no sleep.

Oct. 8, *Saturday.* Breakfasted at Horse-neck, passed the turnpike to Harlem bridge, and on to the city of New York, where we arrived at 4 o'clock. Avoided the city on account of the Yellow-fever, which was extremely mortal. From State's prison, crossed the Hudson at Holbuck ferry. Arrived at Newark, Gifford's, at four.

Oct. 9, *Sunday.* Went to meeting. Mr. Pickering and I drank tea with my old friend Woodbridge, formerly preceptor at Exeter.

Oct. 10, *Monday.* We took the slow stage. Mr. Taggart and Mr. Chamberlain had traveled with us from Hartford, and still continued. Dined at Brunswick. Lodged at Princeton. Mr. Pickering and I called on Dr. Smith. He went with us to Mr. Stockton's, where we spent a very agreeable evening.

Oct. 11, *Tuesday.* Breakfasted at Trenton. Avoided going into Philadelphia on account of the fever. We kept in the northern and western suburbs until we had passed the city, and went on to Grey's Inn, over the Schuylkill, where we dined. At 4 o'clock P. M., Mr. Pickering and myself, not being able to get a bed, concluded to make Mr. Hamilton a visit.

[Dr. Cutler writes, November 22d, to his daughter, Mrs. Torrey, of this visit.]

Oct. 12, *Wednesday.* We took the stage for Baltimore. Breakfasted at Chester; dined at Elktown; lodged at Havre de Grace.

Oct. 13, *Thursday.* Breakfasted at Bushtown, and arrived at Baltimore about twelve. Took lodgings at Brydon's, with Mr. Pickering, Mr. Taggart, and Mr. Maclay. All the taverns and boarding-houses were so full as to render it extremely difficult to get lodgings anywhere. Mr. Brydon took us into his own private family.

Oct. 14, *Friday.* Set out in the stage, at six, for Washington. Breakfasted at Woodward's. Arrived at Stilles' Hotel at three in the afternoon.

Oct. 15, *Saturday.* Concluded to lodge with Mr. Speak, on Pennsylvania Avenue, in company with Messrs. Taggart, Hough, and Claggett. Mr. Taggart and I took a room together.

[Dr. Cutler writes to Mrs. Cutler of his situation thus;

My Dear:— . . . The gentlemen who compose our family are very agreeable. My good brother, Mr. Taggart,* who lives with me in the same chamber, is possessed of a strong mind and sound politics. He is a very agreeable companion, and has an excellent temper, although he has some little oddities and awkwardness about him, owing to his never having been abroad. He is about the size of brother Chickering, quite as gross, and his mind and manners often remind me of good father Cleaveland. Mrs. Speak has been much out of health for a considerable time, and appears to be threatened with a decline. It seems to be owing to the loss of a little son, who died about two months after we left them last spring.]

Oct. 18, *Tuesday.* Committees appointed, petitions heard, etc. I took Furgerson's Roman Republic out of the Library.

Oct. 19, *Wednesday.* Motion for amendment of the Constitution. French treaty ratified in the Senate.

Oct. 20, *Thursday.* Attended the Committee composed of

---

*Samuel Taggart, born at Londonderry, N. H., March 24, 1754; graduated at Dartmouth College, 1774. He was a Presbyterian minister of Scoth-Irish descent, tracing back his lineage to the Siege of Derry. Parson Taggart preached at Coleraine, Mass., from 1777 to 1818. He was a member of Congress from 1803 to 1817. Honest alike in his political and religious convictions, he was an influential, and in many respects a remarkable, man. He died April 25, 1825.—*Drake's Biographical Dictionary*; *Mag. West. Hist.*, *vol.* 3, *p.* 625.

one member from each State, on motion for an amendment of the Constitution respecting votes for President and Vice-President. Meeting of Federalists of our delegation to consult on the expediency of bringing forward a motion to exclude negroes from a share in elections.

Oct. 21, *Friday.* On Committee from each state, on consultations. Little business in the House.

Oct. 22, *Saturday.* Mr. Pickering and I at the Office of the Secretary of State, on patent for shelling machine. Concluded to take out patent. Louisiana Treaty before the House.

Oct. 23, *Lord's Day.* Attended worship at the Hall. Dr. Gant preached.

Oct. 24, *Monday.* On the amendment of the Constitution and French Treaty.

Oct. 29, *Saturday.* Attended Committee of one member from each State, on amendment of the Constitution.

WASHINGTON, *Oct.* 31, 1803.

To DR. TORREY.

My Dear Sir:— . . . Your particular account of military movements, and your entertainment at General Derby's, has afforded me much pleasure, for it is such detailed accounts of what is passing with you, which instantly transports my mind from this place to the scene of action. I feel myself with my friends, taking a part in what is passing, and sharing in the enjoyment.

It has often been a matter of regret to me, that my friends, in their letters, have been so sparing in relating occurrences and circumstances which are every day happening, and which, though they seem trivial to them, afford much satisfaction to one removed at so great distance. Here I feel myself interested in the little concerns of families, neighborhoods, and the town, which, if I were at home, would never occupy a second thought. You will see by the papers that the principal business relating to the French Treaty, and the amendment of the Constitution, is nearly finished. This business has been pressed and driven with the utmost rapidity. Our sittings have been unusually lengthy, and some of them very interesting. It is to be much regretted that these debates have not been more fully detailed in the newspapers. The purchase of. Louisiana may prove a good thing, and it may be attended with very serious evils. I consider the price much too high, and find that it is Mr. King's opinion (our late Minister at London), that it might have been obtained for a much less sum. But my objection to the treaty is, that it is, in itself, and in its operations, a flagrant violation of the principles of the Constitution, which alone would compel me to give it my negative. There are other objections. The admission of this State into the Union not only carries the balance of power in those States farther to the southward, but in all probability will lay the foundation for a separation of the States. It may produce a very interesting change in the commerce of the Northern States, for France, Spain and their provinces may be supplied with every production of this country from the Mississippi, and will probably exclude us from their islands. The privileges to be allowed their vessels in those parts may have a material effect on the trade of the other States. It is also very doubtful whether we have obtained a fair title—whether the treaty at Idelfonso has ever been fulfilled on the part of the French. It is reported here, and I find it believed by those who are likely to know much of the secrets of the Cabinet, that the Spanish Minister here has presented a remonstrance to the Executive against taking possession of the province. The consequences of this treaty must, after all, depend much upon the state of things in Europe. You will see by the papers that an amendment to the Constitution has passed our House, but it has not been decided in the Senate.. This and other amendments were referred to a large select committee, consisting of one member from each State. Happening to be appointed on this committee from Mass., I have had opportunities for ascertaining, better than I otherwise should, prevailing ideas respecting this important instrument. But at present I shall only observe, that, although the alteration proposed is merely to designate the President and Vice-President, the forming of this article by the (Constitutional) Convention, was a work of great difficulty and labor, and was finally a matter of compromise between the large and small

States. The alteration is, most assuredly, proposed at this time, to answer a particular purpose with respect to the present state of parties. This state we must believe will not be of long duration, and the amendment may always put it in the power of two or three of the largest States to elect both these high officers from those States. Whatever objection there may be, you see the amendment carried in our House by a large majority. . . .

Your affectionate parent,
M. CUTLER.

[*Address to this letter missing.*]

WASHINGTON, *Oct* 31, 1803.

My Dear Sir:—Your kind letter of the 2d I had the pleasure of receiving last evening. . . .

By this time you have seen, if they are published at large in your papers, the debates on the Louisiana Treaty, which contains all of importance that can be said on either side. Although the House had no voice in the ratification, the principles and probable consequences were pretty thoroughly discussed. The purchase may, possibly, prove a good thing, and, taken on general principles, the quantity of land may be worth the money. But considering it with reference to all its relations, I must think the evils to be apprehended exceed the good to be expected. The friends of the treaty, however, are felicitating themselves with the *golden age* that is to follow, and are pouring, without mercy, torrents of adulation upon all immediately concerned, or implicated in the negotiation. But, after all their boastings, "the British King," as was observed by a member in the debate, "was the most able negotiator."

Those who have opposed the provisions, have generally objected on the ground of unconstitutionality. It is clear to me there is no power to be found in the Constitution authorizing the government to purchase an extended country without the lines of the Union, and to annex it as a member of the confederation. Besides, several of the provisions of the treaty, particularly the conditions on which foreign vessels are admitted, is a direct violation of the Constitution, which (in the 5th paragraph, 9th sect., 1 art.) expressly says: "No preference shall be given, by *any regulation* of commerce, or revenue, to the ports of one State over that of another." On these grounds I felt myself obliged to vote against the provisions. The most prominent points in which the operation of the treaty is to be viewed are, on the one hand, security of the navigation of the Mississippi, possession of territory capable of producing articles (of large consumption, such as sugar, rum, and coffee) from which foreign nations have it in their power to exclude us, and keeping off a very undesirable neighbor. On the other hand, it is unknown what government has purchased. No boundaries are ascertained, except on the sea-board, and our own lines. Nor is it known what portion of the purchase will be claimed as private property. Intimations have been received from France, which have gained credit, that Bonaparte sold much, perhaps all, the unappropriated lands to speculators in Europe, previous to signing the treaty. We, then, pay 15 millions for the mere sovereignty and public stores, and the title, to even so much, is disputable. The Spanish Minister's remonstrance is said to be conceived in spirited terms, and to have occasioned a warm and acrimonious correspondence between the Marquis Yrujo, Mr. Pechon, and the Secretary of State. This I have from good authority.

The admission of the Province into the Union must throw N. England quite into the background. Her influence in government, from the rapid population at the southward and westward, is naturally declining, and this must be nearly a finishing stroke. The introduction of a still greater number of naturalized aliens into our Legislature is to be expected, when, even now, were you to hear the variety of dialects, it could not fail of bringing to your recollection the building of Babel. The purchase opens a wide field for speculation and a strong temptation to emigration, and into a very unhealthy climate. The effects it may produce on the navigation of the Atlantic States is extremely problematical. I will only add that it can not be doubted, the moment Louisiana is admitted into the Union, the seeds of separation are planted.

It was my intention to have said something of the amendment of the Constitution, but I have been so prolix on the treaty, and telling you about myself, I can only mention that it has passed the House, and at present is asleep in the Senate. Probably its friends will not venture to call it up until two expected members arrive. In a day or two I will trouble you with some observations on this and some other matters. Congress has acted on no other subject of much consequence, and these have been pressed along with the utmost rapidity. My side reminds me it is time to desist. . . . Mr. Pickering returns his compliments. My respects to your family, brother Frisbie, and all friends.

With sentiments of great regard,
Your humble servant,
M. Cutler.

Oct. 30, *Sunday.* In the morning, at the Hall. Mr. Latoone, Episcopalian, from Baltimore, preached. . . . P. M., we all went to Georgetown, and heard Mr. Balch.

November 8, *Tuesday.* Horse races commenced.*

Nov. 9, *Wednesday.* Attended the House. Adjourned at

---

* Washington, *Nov.* 8, 1803.

The horse races of the season have begun this day within the Territory of Columbia, and I have been on the turf to behold this great and fashionable exhibition. . . . The Senate actually did adjourn for three days, not on account of the races, you will observe, but merely to admit a mason to plaster the ceiling of their chamber, which had fallen down a few days before. The House of Representatives met and adjourned; but you must not suppose this was done to allow the honorable gentlemen to show themselves on the horse ground—you are rather to imagine that no business was in due state of preparation to be acted upon. My morning's work having been dispatched, I went to the place of rendezvous. . . . Not only the gentle and the simple were there, but almost all the great folks, including officers of government. There were a great number of ladies, who mostly sat in the carriages which brought them. Several of the reverend clergy were at this exhibition of the speed of horses. The sport being over, the great men and the pretty women, and the sporting jockeys and the reverend sirs, and many of the little folks, quitted the field. Among the rest, one gentleman, who has a wife in New York, went to his lodgings, and, as soon as he had eaten his dinner, took his pen in hand, and wrote her an account of the whole day's proceedings.—*Dr. Mitchell's Letters* (*Harper's Monthly, April,* 1879).

12. Went to the race ground. Colonel Holmes' horse (of Virginia) gained the purse.

Nov. 12, *Saturday*. Attended the races. Holmes' horse won, the amount said to be about 900 dollars. . . . The famous white stud, an Arabian horse, called the Dey of Algiers, on the ground; a remarkably high and full neck, well turned, but not tall, nor very large. It is said there were four English horses ran so near alike that, when either of them carried the key of the stable, weighing 1½ lbs., that horse would be beaten. One English horse only has ever run a mile a minute.

[Dr. Cutler writes of these races to his son: As the races form one trait of the character of the Southern States, it is a subject which may afford you some amusement. The race ground is on an old field, with somewhat of a rising in the middle. The race path is made about fifty feet wide, measuring just one mile from the bench of the judges round to the stage again. In the center of this circle, a prodigious number of booths are erected, which stand upon the highest part of the ground. Under them are tables spread, much like the booths at commencement (at Cambridge), but on the top, for they are all built with boards, are platforms to accommodate spectators. At the time of the racing, these are filled with people of all descriptions. On the western side, and without the circus, is rising ground, where the carriages of the most respectable people take their stand. These, if they were not all *Democrats*, I should call the *Noblesse*. Their carriages are elegant, and their attendants and servants numerous. They are from different parts of the Southern and Middle States, and filled principally with ladies, and about one hundred in number. The ground within the circus is spread over with people on horseback, common hacks, and single carriages; a great number of women on horses and many in rich and elegant dress. On the eastern side is the stage for the bench of judges, elevated fifteen feet from the ground; at a distance of about ten rods, toward which the horses approach first, is another stage, on wheels. This is called the distanced stage. If any horses in the race do not arrive at this stage before the foremost arrives at the stage from which they started, they are said to be distanced, and are taken out, and not suffered to run again in the same race.

While the horses were running, the whole ground within the circus was spread over with people on horseback, stretching round, full speed, to different parts of the circus, to see the race. This was a striking part of the show, for it was supposed there were about 800 on horseback, and many of them mounted on excellent horses. There were about 200 carriages and between 3,000 and 4,000 people—black, and white, and yellow; of all conditions, from the President of the United States to the beggar in his rags; of all ages and of both sexes, for I should judge one-third were females. . . . It was said the toll collected from carriages and horses (people on foot passed free) was 1,200 dollars. . . . Mr. Tayloe, of this city, is one of the most famous of the Jockey Club. He had five horses run, one on each day; all come near winning, but failed. He is said generally to be lucky. He is very rich—his horses are valued at more than 10,000 dollars. It is said that Holmes has sold one of his winning horses for 3,500 dollars. So it is that these Nabobs sport with their money. Vast sums were bet on the ground by individuals. It is said one member of Congress lost, in private bets, 700 dollars. Such are the evils attending these races. But in one respect I was much disappointed. Among the numerous rabble, I saw very few instances of intoxication. I am tired, and can only add, that I am, Your affectionate parent,

M. Cutler.]

It is said another race is to be run this day, for a purse of 2,000 dollars.

Nov. 19, *Saturday.* No sitting. General Wadsworth, Colonel Hough, and myself took a walk up to the Cannon foundry and the lower locks. Much entertained at the foundry. We walked about ten miles, out and in—pretty well tired.

Nov. 20, *Lord's Day.* At the Treasury. Mr. Laurie preached.

Nov. 23, *Wednesday.* Attended Committee on the Fisheries. Bill for repeal of the Bankrupt law. After dinner, we all walked to the Navy yard. On board U. S. frigate, John Adams—just come up.

WASHINGTON, *Nov.* 22, 1803.

MRS. TORREY.

My Dear Daughter:— . . . Since you are quite a gardener, I will mention a visit I made, on my journey, near Philadelphia, to a garden, which in many respects exceeds any in America. It is at the country-seat of Mr. Hamilton, a gentleman of excellent taste and great property. The visit was accidental. The fever rendered it necessary to avoid the city. We hired the stage to drive us through the suburbs, on to a tavern called Gray's Inn, over the Schuylkill, about 3 miles from the city. We found the inn, although very large, so crowded, that not one in our stage could have a bed; we could be furnished with blankets if we would consent to sleep on the floor. We were ten in number, and no tavern within 6 or 8 miles. It was about 3 in the afternoon when we arrived. The state of my side was such as to render it impossible for me to get rest without a bed. Mr. Pickering was indifferent with regard to himself, but felt much concern for me. As soon as we had dined, he called me aside, and told me he had been acquainted with Mr. Hamilton, who was noted for his hospitality, and who lived but half a mile up the river, where he did not doubt we should be kindly entertained. We immediately set out, and arrived about an hour before sunset. His seat is on an eminence, which forms on its summit an extended plain, at the junction of two large rivers.

Near the point of land a superb but ancient house built of stone is situated. In the front, which commands an extensive and most enchanting prospect, is a piazza, supported on large pillars, and furnished with chairs and sofas, like an elegant room. Here we found Mr. H., at his ease, smoking his cigar. He instantly recognized Mr. Pickering, and expressed much joy at seeing him. On Mr. Pickering introducing me, he took me by the hand with a pretty hard squeeze. "Ah, Dr. Cutler, I am glad to see you at last. I have long felt disposed to be angry that I should hear of you so often at Philadelphia, and passing to and from the southward, and yet never make me a visit, and Dr. Muhlenburg, of Lancaster, a few days ago, made to me the same complaint. Come, gentlemen, walk in and take some refreshments, for I have much to show you, and it will directly be night." This, and much more, was said as fast as he could utter it. We declined refreshments, and Mr. Pickering told him our situation. "Ah," says he, "I rejoice the inn was full, I am indebted to this circumstance for this visit. There is my house, we have plenty of beds, and whatever it affords is at your service." We then walked over the pleasure grounds in front and a little back of the house. It is formed into walks, in every direction, with borders of flowering shrubs and trees. Between are lawns of green grass, frequently mowed to make them convenient for walking, and at different distances numerous copse of native trees, interspersed with artificial groves, which are set with trees collected from all parts of the world. I soon found the fatigue of walking too great for me, though the enjoyment, in a measure, drove away the pain. O, that I had been well! We then took a turn in the gardens and the green-houses. In the gardens, though ornamented with almost all the flowers and vegetables the earth affords, I was not able to walk long. The green-houses, which occupy a prodigious space of ground, I can not pretend to describe. Every part was crowded with trees and plants from the hot climates, and such as I had never seen, all the spices, the tea-plant in full perfection; in short, he assured us there was not a rare plant in Europe, Asia, or Africa, many from China and the islands in the South Seas, none, of which he had obtained any account, which he had not procured.

By this time it was so dark that no object could be distinctly examined. We retired to the house. The table was spread with decanters of different wines, and tea was served.

Immediately after, another table was loaded with large botanical books, containing most excellent drawings of plants, such as I never could have conceived. He is himself an excellent botanist. O, my unfortunate side! When I had time to think of it, while I sat at the table, I was obliged to bite my lips to suppress my groans. When we turned to rare plants, one of the gardeners would be called, and sent with lanterns to the green-house to fetch me a specimen to compare with it. This was done perhaps twenty times.

Between 10 and 11 an elegant table was spread, with, I believe, not less than twenty covers. After supper, we turned again to the drawings, and at one we retired to bed. Our lodging was in the same style, and I had an excellent night's sleep, to be imputed, indeed, in part, to the opium I had taken. . . .

In the morning, as we had informed him we must do, we rose as soon as daylight appeared. When we came down, we found him up, too, and the servants getting breakfast. We assured him we must be excused, for the stage would leave us, if we were not in season, and the passengers would breakfast at Chester. "Well," he said, "if it must be so, you can not go until you have gone over the apartments in the house."

I can not now describe them, can only say they were filled with a collection of rich and elegant paintings, of all descriptions. . . . A carriage was at the door, with servants, to conduct us to the inn, where the stage was waiting.

At parting with our hospitable and most generous friend, he extorted from us, and especially from me, a promise never to pass again without calling. He is a bachelor, about 54 or 55. He has an aged mother, about 88, of whom he spoke with great affection. An odd expression, however, I can not omit. "My mother is so old she does not know any thing. I suspect she is going to die, but I am sorry for it." He has with him a nephew, about 24, and two young ladies, his nieces. They took a large share with us in looking over the drawings, were very social, and as much engaged as their uncle. He embarrassed me with a question I did not know how to understand. He inquired after my nephew, Mr. Cutler, of Boston, who had made him a visit with his lady. He said he told him he was my nephew. I was going to rectify the mistake, but he so rapidly went to something else I let it pass. At supper, the young ladies made the same inquiry. I let it go so. My paper is done!

Your affectionate parent,

M. CUTLER.

WASHINGTON, *Nov.* 30, 1803.

To REV. DR. DANA.

Dear Sir:—The Senate have the amendment of the Constitution still before them. It has been repeatedly called up, and several amendments to the first or principal amendment proposed. It occupied them mostly the whole of the sitting yesterday without coming to any decision. Most probably they will not pass upon the bill until Mr. Armstrong, from New York, and Mr. Sumpter, from South Carolina, arrive.

The designation of President and Vice-President, in voting for those officers, does not appear, at first view, to be liable to any serious objections. At least, it had so struck my mind. But, happening to be on the large Committee, consisting of one member from each state, to whom the motion for the amendment, in the House, was in the first instant committed, I had opportunity to attend to a more minute and satisfactory investigation than the subsequent debates afforded. In the Committee, we had recourse to the minutes of the debates in the Convention for forming the Constitution, and all the documents relating to this article. It appears that scarcely one article in that instrument occupied more time, or was attended with greater difficulty, than the mode of electing the President and Vice-President. Many different modes were, in succession, under consideration and rejected. The smaller states were jealous of the larger, and it was finally made a matter of compromise between them. This compromise is completely destroyed by the proposed amendment, as it went from the House to the Senate; and, should there not be a choice by the electors, and five be the highest number of those voted for, from whom the House are to make the choice, it will always be in the power of the five largest states, if they should be so disposed, to give a President and Vice-President to the nation. Besides, the Vice-President becomes worse than a useless officer, for candidates for the chair may make this officer the mere tool to secure their election. It is evident the rage for the amendment, at this moment, is solely to secure their Man at the next election. It appears, however, quite unnecessary, in order to effect this purpose, for there seems not the least doubt that it may as well be done without it.

But why should we trouble ourselves about the amendment of an instrument which has become any thing or nothing? It is just what the majority are pleased to call it. Look at the power given to the President by the provisional government of Louisiana. By one sweeping clause, he is made as despotic as the Grand Turk. Every officer is appointed by him, holds his commission during his pleasure, and is amenable only to him. He is the Executive, the Legislature, and the Judicature. What clamor, a few years ago, lest the President should be vested with too much power, the department the most dangerous of all to be trusted.

Look at the instantaneous naturalization of a whole province of foreigners, and the preference given, by the regulations of commerce, to one part above all the others in the U. S. I need not add more to show the perversion of the principles of the Constitution. Last session, when a solemn treaty was violated, the most distant appearances of hostile measures were denounced. They believed a warlike attitude, gentle souls, would infallibly provoke a war with Spain or France. Now, mark the change. "War with Spain would be highly beneficial; we should soon have the Floridas, and our conquests extend to their West India islands." An army is now on their march, not to avenge the infraction of the treaty, but to take possession of a province of Spain to which we can pretend no better right than a quit-claim from France. It is understood that Governor Clairborne, of the Mississippi Territory, is to take possession, that an army of militia are to march to the lines, while a body of horse, and the continental troops, under the command of General Wilkinson, are to escort the Governor to New Orleans. From the weakness of the Spanish force, there seems little probability of resistance. But the Democrats generally appear to be under some apprehension that they will be obliged to "look on the bloody arena," before they get possession.

You recollect the cry of the exclusive patriots about high salaries. The salaries of Heads of Departments, as raised in 1799, "were exorbitant," when articles of living were at least

25 per cent higher than at present, but now they are "scarcely sufficient." To prevent their being lowered, as the people were made to expect, a perpetual law is passed, fixing them at the same rate they were last year, and rendering them permanent. On passing this bill the debates were interesting. Some of the opposers of the bill, or, rather, opposed to Democratic inconsistency, dealt pretty freely in handsome sarcasm, and pointed humor. There is no probability that these debates will be given impartially to the public, as no Federal reporter was present.

The increased number of representatives, though there appears little acquisition in *quantum* of ability, or weight of character, has given a preponderance to the majority which carries all before it.

Though Federalism has lost in some states, it has gained in others. The four from Virginia are men of handsome talents, and in the opinion of some, possess more than all their delegation besides. It has gained much from N. York. N. Hampshire has a respectable representation. No loss from Vermont, and I can not help feeling a pride in the acquisition from Mass. Dwight, Mitchell, and Stedman, are men of much respectability. And our good brother Taggart (who is my chum) is possessed of a strong mind and sound political principles. I know not how to describe him better than to tell you his mind, and his manners, constantly remind me of our good father Cleaveland. But the Federalists can do little more than look on.

The House has been occupied lately very much with local concerns. The Bankrupt Law has been repealed in the House by a very large majority. Those who are friendly to a uniform system of bankruptcy were convinced that the existing law was so radically deficient as not to admit of amendments. . . .

Your affectionate friend and brother,
M. CUTLER.

December 1, *Thursday.* Thanksgiving in Massachusetts. Mr. Taggart and I noticed the day.

December 7, *Wednesday.* Invited a number of gentlemen to dine—Rev. Mr. Balch, of Georgetown, Rev. Mr. Laurie, Rev. Mr. McCormick, Commodore Morris, Captain Carmick, etc. Handsome dinner provided, but the House, being on the bill for Amendment of Constitution, did not adjourn. At five we returned, and dined immediately; but before we rose from the table, we had a message by a door-keeper to attend at the Hall instantly. We were obliged to attend, which deprived us of all the sociability we had anticipated. After ten, we arrived at our lodgings. . . .

Dec. 12, *Monday.* Presented a petition of Nathaniel and Wm. Smith, Newburyport. Committed to Committee on Commerce and Manufactures.

Dec. 15, *Thursday.* Took a ramble into Virginia, on the banks and rocks south of the Potomac. Collected Cryptogamous plants. Very pleasant solitary botanical walk.* Mr. Coffin, of Newburyport, here.

Dec. 26, *Monday.* Employed the day in preparing letters to accompany Mr. Tracy's speech on the Constitution, and making up the packages. Did not go to the House.

Dec. 31, *Saturday.* Highly entertained in making a tour with "Coxe" upon the stupendous mountains of the Alps, and in making extracts from his account of the fossils.

So has ended another year. It is gone! as irrecoverably gone as the days before the flood!

WASHINGTON, *Dec.* 30, 1803.

CAPTAIN FITCH POOLE.

My Dear Sir:—We have been sending abroad a large number of Mr. Tracy's speeches in opposition to the amendment of the Constitution. This must be an apology for delay in answering your last favor. The part I have taken has fully occupied my time, having had more than forty letters to write, of considerable length, to accompany them; and besides, we have so crowded the mail that it was agreed we would send no newspapers, nor mere letters of friendship, until these were dispatched, lest many of them should be thrown aside. The object has been to furnish the members of the several legislatures, especially N. England, with one of the speeches previous to their meeting, as they will have the amendment communicated for their adoption. I have inclosed one for Governor Foster, and should like to know whether he has received it. In a few days, will send one to you, if any are left. It has fallen to me to send a large number into the States of Rhode Island, New Hampshire, and Vermont, as well as Massachusetts, but have nearly got through with this job, which has been truly laborious. We entertain little doubt of the rejection of the amendment in four states—N. Hamp., Mass., Conn., and Delaware. If Vermont should reject it, in addition to these, it can not go into operation. All the hope with respect to Vermont is founded on the opposition which Mr. Elliot, who we suppose has much influence there, gave to it when before the House here, and a belief that General Bradley, though he gave his vote for it, very much disapproves of it. You will see by the yeas and nays, annexed to the speech, that only three of the Mass. delegation voted for it, and that it was carried by the casting vote of the Speaker.

---

* WASHINGTON, *Dec* 16, 1803.

I beg leave to introduce to your acquaintance a native of Maryland of the name of Mitchella. . . . To be plain with you, my dear Kate, this specimen of the *Mitchella repens* was gathered by the Rev. Dr. Cutler, the Massachusetts botanist. He presented it to me as the plant bearing our family name, and that your curiosity may be gratified by seeing how the Mitchella looks, I inclose it to your ladyship —*Dr. Mitchell's Letters to His Wife, from Washington,* 1801–1813 (*Harper's Monthly, April,* 1879).

Dr. Eustis did well, and deserves much credit for the decided part he took. He gave the Democrats more trouble, and excited more apprehension, than all the opposition besides. I have seen no instance in which speaking in the House has had so much effect. Generally, it has none at all. But there is no man of the party which he professes to go with who is so much feared, so much courted, and so much dreaded. Whatever may be his real principles, he has done more, in checking, opposing, and defeating their wild measures, than all the minority. It happens almost daily, and I do believe, as circumstances are, he is, incomparably, the most useful member within our walls.

Whether a general system of Bankruptcy would be useful in our country, I have no doubt, on the supposition that an adequate penalty was to be adopted. We know the British system has been useful, but the penalty is high. It is death. We are not in a state to employ so severe a penalty. Great inconveniences arise from the very different and contradictory laws, respecting debtors and the recovery of debts, in the different States. But sure I am, that our late system was so radically bad, it was better to repeal it than to attempt amendment. I intended to have replied, particularly to the other part of your last letter, but some special business calls me, and I must make it the subject of another letter. I have received Mrs. Poole's and Mrs. Torrey's letters, but it has not been in my power yet to answer them.

Your affectionate parent,

M. CUTLER.

Jan. 1, 1804, *Lord's Day.* The year commenced with a very rainy day. I spent the day in my chamber, I hope not unprofitably.

Jan. 2, *Monday.* Many of the Democrats waited on the President, but very few of the Federalists—I believe only one from New York State and four from Virginia. We had a very long sitting.

Jan. 3. *Tuesday.* Very late sitting. Transcribing Coxe's Nat. Hist. of Switzerland.

Jan. 5, *Thursday.* A young Spanish officer and the wife of Jerome Bonaparte in the Hall, the Marchioness Yrujo and two other ladies in company. We sat late. John Randolph brought forward his motion for the purpose of impeaching Judge Chase. I had an invitation to dine with the President on Saturday, but was previously engaged to dine with Mr. Van Ness. Sent apology to President.

Jan. 6, *Friday.* Last night finished extracts from Coxe's Nat. Hist. Late sitting—on impeachments.

Jan. 7, *Saturday.* The House sat late. Dined at Major Van Ness',* with several members of Congress. A very fine entertainment, and an agreeable time. We had the Spitzbergen apple, from New York; the flavor excellent. I have not tasted a better apple. Keeps well till February.

---

* Major John P. Van Ness, born in Ghent, Columbia Co., New York, 1770; educated at Columbia College; member of Congress from 1801

Jan. 9, 10, 11. Attended at the Hall. Wind high and very cold. Dust in clouds. Potomac frozen over.

Jan. 12, *Thursday.* At Post-office and Hall. Transacted business with General Smith. The President filling his ice-house. About fifteen single-horse drays, hauling up from a small pond below his house. The cakes of ice about two inches thick, and one and two feet long and broad; taken up with spades.

Jan. 15, *Lord's Day.* Attended at Georgetown. Mr. Coffin, of Newburyport, preached for Mr. Balch. Returned and went again P. M. Potomac frozen over as far as Alexandria. Saw people on the ice.

Jan. 18, *Wednesday.* Attended at the Hall. Major Burnham and Dr. Adams arrived with Patent Shelling Machine. Took lodgings at Mr. Speak's.

Jan. 19, *Thursday.* Went with the Major and Doctor to Georgetown. Attended at the Hall.

Jan. 25, *Wednesday.* Waited on the President. Major Burnham and Dr. Adams brought their machine. The President mounted the carriage and turned it himself; much pleased with it. We went in and spent a little time. Attended at the House.

Jan. 30, *Monday.* Went to Georgetown early, with Mr. Pickering and Major Burnham. Called on Mr. Foxhall, the founder. He supposed the cylinder for the machine could not be cast.

[Dr. Cutler was confined with an inflamed and painful eye for some days, and could not observe the eclipse of the sun on the morning of February 11th.]

Feb. 13, *Monday.* At the Secretary of State's Office, in the case of Wm. Brown, impressed on board a British Frigate. Attended at the Capitol.

Feb. 15, *Wednesday.* Saw a specimen of the gold ore from North Carolina. Attended at the Hall.

---

to 1803. While a member of Congress, he received from President Jefferson a commission as Major of Militia for the District of Columbia. He died in Washington, March 7, 1846.—*Dict. of Congress* (*Lanman*).

Feb. 18, *Saturday.* Went to Alexandria with Major Burnham in Johnson's packet. Mr. Grey and a gentleman from Norfolk with us. Dined at Gadsby's, on Canvas-backs and Currant Jelly. . . . Returned in the evening. A pleasant day and evening.

Feb. 21, *Tuesday.* Very pleasant. Attended at Hall. Dined with Mr. Madison.* An excellent dinner. The round of Beef of which the Soup is made is called *Bouilli.* It had in the dish spices and something of the sweet herb and Garlic kind, and a rich gravy. It is very much boiled, and is still very good. We had a dish with what appeared to be Cabbage, much boiled, then cut in long strings and somewhat mashed; in the middle a large Ham, with the Cabbage around. It looked like our country dishes of Bacon and Cabbage, with the Cabbage mashed up, after being boiled till sodden and turned dark. The Dessert good; much as usual, except two dishes which appeared like Apple pie, in the form of the half of a Musk-melon, the flat side down, top creased deep, and the color a dark brown.

Feb. 22, *Wednesday.* The birthday of the illustrious Washington. Ushered in by the discharge of 17 Cannon placed on Capitol Hill, N. of the Capitol. Firing of Cannon followed at Alexandria and Georgetown. We adjourned at 4. The federal part of both Houses repaired to Stille's Hotel at 12, while both Houses were sitting. Seventeen Cannon were again fired. The pieces were 12 or 18 pounders. The air being very serene, the report was extremely loud and heavy. Our seats trembled, and the whole Capitol shook. Many members wounded (not corporeal but mental wounds), who hate the name whose memory is honored. The company at Stille's, besides members, Judges of Supreme Court, Gentlemen at the Bar who had been members, Gentlemen of Georgetown, of this city, some from Alexandria, and different parts of Virginia and Maryland—about 100. Table very elegant. Mr. Balch, Chaplain; Mr. Pickering, President; Jos. Lewis and Mr. Sands, Vice-Presidents. Band of music in the Entry. After the first Toast, 17 guns. All the Toasts good; many volunteers, and mostly good. I retired early. Fine day and pleasant evening.

---

* Dr. Cutler, while in Washington, was often at Mr. Madison's, who was then Secretary of State. He found Mrs. Madison very amiable, and exceedingly pleasant and sensible in conversation. On one occasion, she spoke of the dishonesty of the Democrats. Dr. Cutler said, inquiringly, "You do not believe all the Democrats are dishonest?" "Yes," she said, "I do, every one of them!" which produced a hearty laugh, in which Mr. Madison himself joined.—*T. Cutler's MSS.*

Feb. 23, *Thursday.* . . . Dined with his Democratic Majesty. Dinner handsome, not elegant. Good Soup and *Bouilli;* Ice-cream. The Ther. has been as low this Winter as 3°. Ice in James River 12 inches thick; in Georgetown, 15 inches thick. So Mr. Randolph told me.

Feb. 25, *Saturday.* House did not sit. . . . Dined at Mr. Nourse's, with Messrs. Pickering, Hillhouse, Boyle, McCrary, and Rhea, Mr. J. Q. Adams and lady. Very agreeable and social time.

Feb. 26, *Lord's Day.* Attended the Capitol A. M. A most extraordinary preacher, Bishop Coke, the head man of the Methodists. On the "foolishness of preaching," etc. . . . A very short, thick-set man; rapid speaker; no arrangement; his voice like a person who has a hoarse cold.

Feb. 28, *Tuesday.* Agreed with Jess,* a black man, to go to Hamilton to live with me, at $8 per month. Wages begin to-day; paid him $10. He is to go with Major Burnham.

Feb. 29, *Wednesday.* Put a Trunk, 1 package (red bag), 1 Barrel Flour, and a package of the Creeper (to be set out) on board Captain Butman, for Newburyport. Paid freight on Flour, $1; gave $6.50 for Flour. At Mason's Island, where I got the Creeper.

---

* Jess. Shorter was a young mulatto who had waited on Dr. Cutler in Washington, and, becoming much attached, proposed to go north and live with him. He was a freeman, and was engaged at the wages usually paid for such service. His polite manners and obliging disposition soon made him quite a favorite with Dr. Cutler and his family. He was sent to school and acquired some learning. In 1808, he married a young colored girl with whom he became acquainted in a neighboring town. A comfortable cottage was built near the parsonage in Hamilton, in which Jess. was installed as gardener, and Member, his wife, became the good-natured cook of the family. Here they raised their children, lived happily, and here they died.

Mar., 2, *Friday.* The impeachment of Judge Pickering* (of the District Court of the United States for New Hampshire) commenced in the Senate. The House adjourned and attended.

Mar. 3. *Saturday.* Contested election of Major Lewis before the House. Mr. Moore, who petitions for the seat, is admitted to the bar and pleads for himself. Mr. Jones (son of Dr. Jones, a member), a very young and a very small man, for Major Lewis, acquitted himself very handsomely indeed. Question not taken. Very cold day.

Mar. 6, *Tuesday.* At the Hall. Major Burnham and Jess. set out for Lancaster. Attended at the Secretary's Office on the business of Mr. Tyng.

[*Address to this letter is missing.*]

WASHINGTON, *Jan.* 10, 1804.

My Dear Sir:— . . . Since the amendment has passed, a bill for making the high salaries of public officers, about which the Democrats had raised so much clamor, a permanent establishment, has been agreed to in the House. The Senate, not content with fixing the salaries at the rate they stood, in the temporary law, although articles of living are, at least, 20 pr. ct. lower than when the salaries were raised, amended the bill by additions particularly to Granger of 1,000, and his chief clerk, 300 dollars more. The amendments have not been accepted by the House, and the bill is at rest for the present.

The impeachment of Judge Pickering, with no small exultation, has gone up to the Senate, in manner and form, but the trial, though daily expected, has not been had. The conduct of this unhappy man did not admit of justification, but the proof of insanity called for a procedure less severe. He had been a Federal man, and therefore was not entitled to lenity.

---

* John Pickering, LL.D., graduated, Harvard University, 1761; lawyer and jurist; born, Newington, N. H., September 22, 1737; died, Portsmouth, April 11, 1805; member of the Convention which formed the Constitution of New Hampshire. In 1787, he was elected a member of the Convention which framed the Constitution of the United States, but declined. Was Judge of the Supreme Court of New Hampshire in 1790–5, and was at one period Chief-Justice. Subsequently, was Judge of the District Court of the United States for New Hampshire, but his reason becoming impaired, he was removed from office by impeachment, in 1804.—*Drake's Dictionary Am. Biog.*

The removal of this Judge is but the beginning of this species of demolition. The day following this impeachment, R-d-ph, the Bonaparte of Democracy, made a motion, the object of which was to impeach Judge Chase. It was made early in the sitting, and brought on a very warm and interesting debate. Attempts were made, but in vain, to postpone the question for one day. At a late hour the question was avoided, after many motions had been made for the purpose, by obtaining a vote for adjournment. It seems he had not consulted his party; several of some consequence were opposed, but by the next morning they had got their cue, and the motion was called up as soon as the House came to order. An amendment was proposed to add Judge Peters, and carried. Debates succeeded with great acrimony on the part of the majority.

Some evidence, of mal-conduct or specific charges, was called for, by the minority, and pressed with able arguments and becoming dignity, but to no purpose. At length one member, Smilie, mentioned the trial of Fries, and said these Judges gave an opinion on a law point, for which they ought be impeached and removed. It seems on this trial it was the opinion of the Judges that, agreeably to the indictment, the crime charged was made treason by the Constitution. This decision prevented the counsel for Fries availing themselves of a plea of sedition, founded on a violation of a statute law. Knowing that the evidence of the fact was clear, they withdrew. The investigation of this trial harrowed up the feelings of the insurgents, which became very apparent, for many of the leaders were members of the House. After all, no specific charge was made, but some other malefactions were barely alluded to, and the question called for in the most pressing manner. Motions were repeatedly made for adjournment, and negatived. At length, just at candle-lighting, a motion for adjournment, taken by yeas and nays, was barely carried. Early on the next day the debates were renewed, and continued to a very late hour, much as the day before, when the question was taken. Yeas, 80; nays, 40. It is some satisfaction to tell you that four (and in my opinion of the most respectable) Democrats voted with us. A Committee of Seven are appointed and empowered to search after matter of accusation, to send for men, papers, records, and documents, in any part of the Union. In a word, the Committee is quite in the style of a Spanish inquisition. The impeachment will doubtless take place before the rising of Congress.

I have given you the course of the business, in detail (though I can give you no idea of the debates), for the purpose of conveying to you some conception of the present state of things. Never before have I seen the demon of Jacobinism display the cloven hoof with equal audacity. Never have I believed that the hottest, maddest Democrats would have openly and boldly avowed principles advanced in the course of these debates. But it appears evidently to be the prosecution of the system formed when the Judiciary was at first attacked—not merely to remove Federal Judges, which his Democratic Majesty in his work of destruction had not power to assail—but to prostrate, completely, the Judiciary branch of our government. What will you say to such principles as these? That a Judge is impeachable for an opinion, in a law point, if that opinion should be judged erroneous by the House of Representatives? That a judge ought in duty to favor the ruling political party? And that he is bound to be governed by the will of the people (so-called)? The next to be impeached, we are told, is to be Judge Bee, of North Carolina, but it is doubtful whether it will be brought forward this session. The utmost secrecy is preserved in the Cabinet—no one but those immediately concerned can tell us what is to be on the morrow. Democracy is progressing, if not with hasty strides, with unabated zeal. Will none of their destructive measures awaken the public mind? Will the people see with indifference their judges converted into mere automatons on the bench, or, what is infinitely worse, made the servile creatures of the Legislature? Is there a reflecting man but must recognise and deplore the existence of the same spirit in our country which has ruined France, and spread distress over the fairest parts of Europe?

The imbecility of the leaders of Democracy here may afford some consolation. Their courage amounts to nothing more than a giddy presumption in attempting impracticable theories, like their speculative teachers, Rousseau, Helvetius, and Godwin, whose writings seem to have turned their brains; although they agree in their rage for innovation, yet they differ in their theories of government. This difference has been more apparent this session than before, yet they strongly combine in opposition to every prudent, practical maxim, and can always command a physical power, against which reason, argument, and experience are feeble repellents. Can any one, who has sense enough to ask questions about facts, really believe, at this late day, that the old enemies of the Constitution are now its best, its only friends, and because they say so? That the professed admirers of the French abominations are the safest keepers of our liberties? That open revilers and scoffers at religion are the men who will draw down the blessing of Heaven on our heads? Have the people found better men than the excluded Federalists? Do they not see that the strife has been for power and office? But I will trouble you with no more remarks. How great is our consolation that THE LORD REIGNS! . . . . M. CUTLER.

WASHINGTON, *Jan.* 26, 1804.

TO DR. TORREY.

. . . I am glad to hear of the attention to religion in Salem, and should still more rejoice if it might generally prevail. I do not know that there is any real difference here, but I do not see so much, and so painful a profanation of the Sabbath, as in former sessions. At the Treasury, where I generally attend, there is a small, but very attentive and serious society. I am much pleased with Mr. Laurie as a preacher, and with his conversation. I find him quite a polished and agreeable man, possessed of handsome talents, a scholar, and well informed. He was educated at the university at Edinburgh. I much regret that you have no better prospect of a resettlement. The settlement of a minister often proves a more arduous work than many imagine.

It was my intention to have sent you Mr. Tracy's speech; and, although a prodigious number were printed by subscription, I could not obtain my own number. It is important to get them into the hands of the members of the several Legislatures. It was the principal object of getting them printed, but I had not so many (though upward of fifty) as I could have disposed of in this way, and was obliged to neglect a number of my private friends, to whom I wished to have sent them. I find they are printed in most of the Federal papers, so that they will be generally seen. . . . We have very long and tedious sittings—commonly dine at sunset, sometimes at 8 or 9 in the evening. This I find very inconvenient, but would submit to it with more patience if we made greater progress in the business. We have a great deal of miserable speaking—much from new members, out of the bush, who do not appear to understand a single principle of political government. Were all the business now before Congress to be finished this session, we should not rise until *Dog days*, and we have additions almost every day. It is quite uncertain when we shall adjourn.

The "State balances" has again been upon the carpet, and lasted nearly a week—but not yet decided. There appears no doubt to me, that a vote will be obtained to relinquish the claims on the debtor States. This I should not so much regret, if it would be the end of it—for it is certain they can not be compelled to pay—but the object is to strike off the claims of the credit States. This would be a serious matter to Mass. The debt due to us is the largest—about $1,250,000. But, although there are many warm and bold advocates of this flagrant violation of public faith, I do think there is not a majority. And there does appear some chance, if the debts are relinquished, we shall be able to get our claim into transferable stock—which is not the case at present—and then we shall be safe, as long as the public debt is safe.

We have had warm contests on the subject of destroying the Loan offices. This, if carried, will very materially affect Mass, as well as violate the public faith. It has been at rest for some time, but will soon be called up, when a pitched battle is to be expected. The establishment of the government of Louisiana is another serious matter. By letters from the new Governor, Claiborne, it seems that a republican government will not do there. It seems a little odd for red-hot democrats to become advocates of one that is perfectly despotic.

At present, the Democrats are all engaged in the celebration of the Jubilee, on the possession of Louisiana. It is to begin here (at the fountain-head of perfectibility), and then to spread to all the dark and benighted parts of America. It is expected to run like wildfire; you may look out for the flame, and light up your dark lanterns. Two days are to be devoted here to Democratic hilarity. One to *eating* and *drinking*, and the other to *fiddling and dancing*. It commences to-morrow. Every pig, goose, and duck, far and near, is said to have been long in requisition. Next Tuesday is to be devoted to the second act of the farce. There are to be Balls, Assemblies, and dances—but where, is yet a Cabinet secret. Whether it is to be around a May pole or bon-fire they are not disposed to tell us. One of the Democrats very gravely mentioning to me the impossibility of finding in Washington a house sufficiently large to contain the vast assembly, I could not help recommending the advice of *Nick Bottom the weaver*, to "act the play in the street by moonlight." We poor Fed's are quite in the background, and have no part or lot in this matter.

Your affectionate parent,
M. CUTLER.

WASHINGTON, *Feb.* 13, 1804.

CAPTAIN F. POOLE.

. . . In your letter of the 19th, which is the last I have received, and dated almost a month ago, your reflections on our political state I believe to be correct. We appear to be advancing to that state of democracy which is attended with very serious evils, though not fast enough to give alarm to the public mind.

There has been lately a more open display of the genuine principles of Jacobinism than in time past. You may be assured that many of the Democrats from New England feel alarmed. The alteration of the Constitution, the destruction of the loan offices, business of the state balances, and the avowed design (by some) and secret workings (by others) to wipe off at one dash of the sponge the demands of the credit states, and, the last week, the subject of the Georgia lands, have all been measures to which every decent northern Democrat has been opposed.

The folly of throwing the whole power of the general government into the hands of Virginians and the Southern people is very sensibly felt. Our colleagues have generally voted together for some time past. When in the last Congress, there was only one instance in each session.

An event took place on Sunday, at a Democratic lodging-house, which has afforded much amusement and much diversion to the Federalists, and extreme mortification to their opponents. It was, in a very strict sense, a square fight between the all-important head man of the party and another who ranks as his second, or perhaps third, Lieutenant. The fracas began at table between Johnny Randolph and Ashton. It was about the debate on the Georgia lands, which we had the week before for four or five days. Johnny had made several highly inflammatory speeches, but had been extremely mortified by the question going against him. Ashton ventured rather indirectly to contradict this political giant in some matter of fact. Johnny told him he should not permit himself to be contradicted by any man without satisfaction, and especially from such a man as he was. Hard words followed. Johnny rose and conducted some ladies from the table into another room; returned, took a wine-glass filled, and dashed the wine into Ashton's eyes and broke the glass to pieces over his head; after some bustle, he took up a gin-bottle and dashed it at him and left the room. This is the short of the story. This morning, much was said about a duel. Neither of them coming to the House, it was said they were gone out to fight. This I did not credit. We are now told that Ashton has taken Randolph with a special warrant; that he has this day been arraigned before the Supreme Court, now sitting in the Capitol. The decision of the Judges we have not heard; but the cream of it is, that Randolph should be brought to the bar before *Judge Chase*, whom he is about to impeach. Judge

Chase (one of the largest men I ever saw) is as remarkable for the largeness as Johnny for the smallness of his size.

I have received a very polite letter this morning, dated at Danvers, January 20th, without being signed by any name. I suspect it might be from General Foster. . . . An answer seems to be desired, which I should readily give, but I am in doubt to whom to address my letter. . . .

Your affectionate parent,

M. CUTLER.

[*Extract from letter to Mr. Poole, February* 21, 1804.]

. . . With regard to the Jubilee (on possession of Louisiana), it occasioned much conversation beforehand, but turned out a very trifling matter. Three or four cannon were fired; a number of Demo's had a dinner, with whom Jefferson and Burr dined, but a large number of their own party refused to join them. There was no parade nor collections among the people. Very little has since been said about it. The ball on the next Tuesday was at Georgetown, and the most that has been said since is, that they affronted the British Minister and his lady, whom they had invited. . . .

[*To Mrs. Poole.*]

WASHINGTON, *Feb.* 28, 1804.

My Dear Daughter:— . . . The British Minister and his lady have been the subjects of much conversation, especially with respect to repeated affronts they have received.* There can be no doubt they have been treated very improperly. A few days since, Mr. J. Q. Adams, of the Senate, General Wadsworth and myself, made the Minister a formal visit. We were introduced by Mr. Adams, and treated with much politeness. Mr. Merry is a well-formed, genteel man, extremely easy and social. But I was especially pleased with his lady, who is a remarkably fine woman. It happened that I was seated by her. She entered instantly into the most agreeable conversation, which continued during the visit, while the other gentlemen were conversing with each other. She was just as easy and social as if we had been long acquainted, and continued so as long as we tarried, which was about a couple of hours. . . . .

---

* Mrs. Madison describes a state dinner at the "White House," to which many of the Diplomats were invited, when, to her surprise, the President stepped forward and offered her his arm, as the wife of the Secretary of State. She demurred, and whispered, "Take Mrs. Merry" (the wife of the British Minister). But, firmly refusing, she was obliged then, and always, during his administration, to take the head of the table. Mrs. Merry, feeling deeply insulted, seized her husband's arm, and walked in behind him.—*Memoirs and Letters of Dolly Madison (by her Grandniece).*

Your affectionate parent,
M. CUTLER.

WASHINGTON, *March* 3, 1804.

REV. DR. DANA.

My Dear Sir:— . . . The debates on the alteration of the Constitution, and Mr. Tracy's speech, as much as any, have conveyed much information to the people. For, in Congress, as well as abroad, this article was imperfectly understood, until after a careful investigation. But how little has this information availed! You see with how much avidity it has been adopted. A small glimpse of hope remains with respect to S. Carolina, through the influence of General Butler. If the alteration is carried, it settles at once the next election of the two first magistrates. If not, matters will be so arranged by dividing for the Vice-President as to insure the choice of the first officer.

You have seen the doings of the Democratic caucus here—unanimous for the first magistrate; for the second: Clinton, 67; Breckenridge, 20; Lincoln, 9; Langdon, 7; Granger, 4; and Maclay, 1. It is of small importance, in their view, who the second may be, if the first is secured. You see the Massachusetts man, who is supposed to have withdrawn himself from the nomination of Governor with expectations of the second office, has been passed by without a solitary vote. But, my dear sir, what have you to hope from the ignorance of the enemies of the Constitution, and of the rights and duties of Judges, while they hold power in their hands. The opinions I stated, though advanced by individuals, are not to be supposed to be the opinions of the whole, but come from some of the most influential of the party. Their ignorance and folly may afford lessons of instruction, in future time, but for the present, we may suffer the evil, so long as they have power to carry their purpose into effect.

Yesterday the trial of Judge Pickering commenced. To the credit of Mr. Burr, very formal arrangements were made, and the court was opened with a dignified solemnity. Mr. Harper has volunteered his services, and offered a petition to the court in behalf of a son of the Judge, but disclaimed being employed or authorized by him to say a word in his behalf, and that he should not attempt it. The prayer of the petition is a postponement, on the ground that the judge is, at this time, in a deranged state of mind. The managers of the impeachment, on the part of the House, objected to Mr. Harper's being heard in support of the petition, and the opinion of the Court requested. It is expected the trial (as an adjournment then took place) will proceed on Monday.

The Committee of Inquisition is nearly ready to report. When the trial of Judge Pickering is over, it is expected the impeachment of Judge Chase will immediately follow. As the S. Court is now in session, and the Judge on the ground, it is probable he will meet his trial before he leaves the city. Mr. Griswold, who is of the Committee, informed me, a day or two ago, that the evidence was principally taken, and though some was highly colored, in his opinion, no charge would be sustained.

The Democrats of both Houses are much perplexed about establishing a system of government in Louisiana. A bill has long been before the Senate, and has at length come to the House. It has been repeatedly taken up and as often laid down, without making any progress. Governor C——ne [Claiborne] has written an intelligent and judicious letter to the President on this subject, which has been communicated to both Houses, but, for obvious reasons, has not been suffered to be printed. He states, in impressive terms, the extreme difficulty of governing the mixed inhabitants of this country. That a government, on the principles of our Constitution, will be very illy suited to their present state. Popular elections and trial by jury must, for a time, be inadmissible, and seems to recommend a strong aristocracy, bordering pretty well upon despotism. His sentiments and opinions have extremely embarrassed our worshipers of the idol of Democracy, and what is to be done in this case is difficult to conjecture; and the difficulty seems to be increased by a rumor, just received, informing that L'Aussat is very troublesome, interferes in the government, and says he is to remain to see the treaty fulfilled and justice done to the French, and demanding an armed force to be immediately sent to aid the government in supporting his authority. Whether there is any real foundation for this rumor, I know not, but there are symptoms which would lead me to suspect it was not wholly groundless.

It has been my hope that our Legislature would order a general ticket for the election of the members of the next Congress, but have not yet seen any motion for this purpose in the reports of their doings. It is, however, a painful truth that, were the best abilities in N. England now to represent the federal interest, it would be wholly out of their power to do any thing important to their country.

Lately the minority have been almost totally silent, which appears to have more and better effect than debating.

A Joint Committee have reported an adjournment on the 12th. . . . Your friend and brother,

M. CUTLER.

DR. TORREY. WASHINGTON, *March* 13, 1804.

My Dear Sir:— . . . The trial of Judge Pickering was closed yesterday, and sentence of condemnation passed—ayes, 20, nays, 10. This trial, so far as respects mere forms, has been conducted with much dignity and solemnity. This is wholly owing to Mr. Burr. He presides in the Senate in a manner which reflects much honor and respectability upon him as a man of taste and judgment. But in the course of this trial we have the fullest demonstration of the unbounded influence of party spirit upon the bench of judgment. I believe every impartial hearer would have said that insanity had been proved in the clearest and most satisfactory manner. The evidence, to my mind, was clear that Mr. Pickering was in the first instance insane, but afterward, as a crazy man, he visited grog-shops, and indulged himself in drinking. That now, when he is not under the influence of strong drink, he discovers the clearest evidence of a deranged state of mind.

It has long been an established rule, in judicial courts in Europe and America, that an insane person can not be tried for any crime. If a murderer should become insane, after he was committed to prison, he would not be tried while his insanity remained, or if condemned and afterward become insane he would not be executed.

But in this case this plea was overruled, and he must suffer this cruel sentence.

The House attended in the Senate Chamber, where chairs were provided for them, in the course of the trial yesterday, while the forms of condemnation were passed.

On our return to the House, the report of the Committee for impeaching Judge Chase was called up and passed. The evidence, which had been printed, we had some time before laid on our table. The affidavits were all taken *ex parte*, but on a careful examination the evidence appeared to me more in favor of the judge than against him. Instead of being guilty of high crimes and misdemeanors, there appears to me no charge of blame.

A high coloring, in some instances, is given by witnesses who have been, and are, his implacable enemies, but there can be very little doubt, if the judge could have the opportunity to appear in his own defense, all this would be wiped off. The Demo's expected the Federalists would come forward and in long debates would oppose the impeachment. But it was fully ascertained that debating would be to no purpose, and we agreed only to vote and not to debate. Mr. Griswold only rose and stated to the House that the Committee of Impeachment, of which he was a member, never went into an examination of the evidence, never so much as discussed the subject in Committee, and when the Chairman brought in his report he and Mr. Huger, the only Federal members, were not notified to attend, and as it was certain the House were determined to impeach the Judge, it was in vain to make any observations, and he should only call for the yeas and nays. There appeared a solemn awe in the House;

several of the Democrats, who seemed to have some feeling, left their seats—two of my colleagues (Skinner and Bishop). The vote stood—ayes, 73, nays, 32. A motion was immediately made for an adjournment. I have never seen more of spirit and bitter feeling after adjournment among the members. A group of Democrats, it is said, made a pretty violent attack on Mr. Dana for not defending the Judge before the House. His reply, though it might sound harsh, was so appropriate and cutting, I can not forbear giving it to you. After censuring, in strong terms, their favorite work of destruction, he told them the clearest argument had no effect; it was folly to reason with them, for he should just as soon think of "*Throwing snow-balls into h-ll, to put out the fire,* as to convince Democrats by reasoning." . . .

I am your affectionate parent,

M. CUTLER.

CAPTAIN FITCH POOLE.

WASHINGTON, *March* 20, 1804.

My Dear Sir:—I have time only to write you a very few lines, and just to inform you my son, Ephraim, has concluded not to go on to Hamilton, at this time, but will set out, in a day or two, on his return.

A bill has passed the second reading in the Senate to remove the seat of government to Baltimore, and making provision for transporting the public offices, and providing the necessary public buildings. When Congress is once mounted on wheels, and set a rolling, I believe it impossible to say where the government will roll to, and when it will stop. Mr. Dawson has offered a motion to the House for re-ceding this territory back to Maryland and Virginia. What reasons have been given I have not heard, as we have not taken the matter up. It is believed the one which operated the most powerfully is, that this city has the misfortune to be called after the name of Washington. The people of this city are, as might be expected, extremely irritated. If these measures should be carried, which I can scarcely think possible, we may have a little specimen of that kind of government these exclusive friends of the people are advocating—mobocracy—before we we leave the city.

You have received the painful intelligence of the loss of the frigate, Philadelphia. A petition from a large number of the citizens of Philadelphia has just been read and committed, praying government to take immediate measures for liberating these unfortunate captives. Whether any energetic measures will be adopted, with respect to the state of Tripoli, is very doubtful.

Your affectionate parent,
M. Cutler.

Mar. 7, *Wednesday.* At the Hall. Randolph made a whining, coaxing, threatening, and personally abusive speech, on his string of Georgia resolutions.

Mar. 8, *Thursday.* Wind very high, dust in clouds. Went to Holt's Garden; got a variety of seeds. Amt., 100 cents. House adjourned early, to attend the funeral of General (Daniel) Heister. Procession walked from Lovell's Hotel, where he died, round President's Square. The corpse carried on through Georgetown to Hagerstown, where he lived. His wife present—he had no child. House voted mourning for one month. Biscuit and wine provided, for the members to refresh themselves, at Lovell's.

Mar. 12, *Monday.* Attended at the House. Judgment passed on Judge Pickering.

Mar. 13, *Tuesday.* At the House. We agreed to adjourn on the 26th.

Mar. 14, *Wednesday.* At the House. Cold and fair. This evening my son Ephraim arrived from Marietta, and took lodgings here. His arrival a great relief to my mind.

Mar. 15, *Thursday.* With my son most of the day. At the Hall some of the time.

Mar. 16, *Friday.* At Holt's Garden, procured a chrysanthemum root for 12½ cents. Attended at the Hall.

Mar. 17, *Saturday.* Ephraim went to Alexandria. Attended Hall.

Mar. 20, *Tuesday.* Busy with Ephraim. Went to the Hall. Call of the House at 4 o'clock.

Mar. 21, *Wednesday.* Call of the House at half past ten. The call commenced before the time. Upward of twenty of us came to the door just as it was locked. By most of our watches it wanted several minutes of the time the call was to take place. We retired to a committee room, and went in a body into the House. After some fuss about it, the call for the remainder of the session was rescinded.

Mar. 22, *Thursday.* Ephraim set out on his return to Ohio. Went to Alexandria. At the Hall. Finished reading the 2d vol. of Gibbon's Roman Empire.

Mar. 23, *Friday.* At the Hall. Letter from Major Burnham. Obtained copies of Hoxie's description and drawings of his Machine.

Mar. 24, *Saturday.* At the Hall. At Georgetown, sold a machine for $20—received the cash. Preparing for my journey.

Mar. 26, *Monday.* Attended at the House. Did very little; very much in confusion. Galleries extremely full of people. Caricature of Wright, with the Capitol on his back, traveling off, and calling to Dayton to help; reply, "I will see you hanged first." People crying from the windows, "Stop thief!" A great loaf of bread, or, rather, a great many small loaves, arranged one after the other. Great fuss. President there. Music. Bakers dressed in white jackets and pantaloons, and white aprons. Had in the Capitol wine, cheese, etc. Effigies of Wright, Randolph, and others, prepared to be burnt. The head men, it was said, were arrested by the order of the Senate. These, it seems, were some of Duane's "*Untied Irishmen.*" Duane's mistake in putting the *t* the wrong side of the *i*, for United, made them Untied Irishmen. House and Senate rescinded the resolution to adjourn to-day. We sit to-morrow.

Mar. 27, *Tuesday.* House adjourned at eight in the evening, after a report from the President that he had nothing to communicate, and from the Senate that they were ready to adjourn, to meet on the first Monday in November next. Settled all bills, and ready to start.

CHAPTER XVII.

FOURTH SESSION IN CONGRESS—DIARY, 1804—LETTER FROM THOS. CUSHING—LETTERS TO HIS FAMILY—DIARY, 1805—TRIAL OF JUDGE CHASE—LETTERS.

Nov. 5, 1804, *Monday.* Arrived at Washington at 4 P. M. The House had met, formed a quorum, and adjourned. Senate had not a quorum. Went to the Capitol, and took my old seat. But we are now to sit in the Library, which is fitted up for the reception of the House, as the other wing was not finished. Went to Mr. Speak's, where I dined, and found Colonel Hough, Mr. Claggett, Chamberlin, and Chittenden.

Nov. 6, *Tuesday.* Attended House. Senate not a quorum. Find myself well accommodated at Mr. Speak's, with a snug room by myself.

Nov. 7, *Wednesday.* Senate made a quorum. House adjourned early. Fair held in the city for three days. This morning, paid the homage of my high respects to his Democratic Majesty, the President, and was very graciously received.

Nov. 8, *Thursday.* At 12 o'clock, the President's Secretary brought to the two houses the Message. It was immediately read in our House. Sent off a large number to my friends.

Nov. 9, *Friday.* Adjusting matters in my chamber, where I abound in conveniences, so far as my little apartment will admit. Wrote letters.

Nov. 10, *Saturday.* The House did not sit. Went to Georgetown. Called on Mr. Balch and Mr. King. Borrowed of Mr. King 5th and 6th vols. of Harvey.

Nov. 11, *Sunday.* Attended worship at our Hall. Mr. McCormick preached a very good sermon on Charity—the good Samaritan. At 3, service was attended in the Court Room, and a Mr. Spear, from the town of Greensburg, Westmoreland County, Pennsylvania, preached an excellent sermon on Remembering the Sabbath. Extemporary; a very handsome delivery, and action well suited to the subject. Jefferson at the Hall in the morning.

Nov. 13, *Tuesday.* House came to order half an hour before eleven, and instantly adjourned, 28 to 25, on account of the races. Attended the races. First race I did not see. It was a match race of two two-year old colts—one belonged to Tayloe, and the other to Devaul—for $1,000. Tayloe won. The second race I saw. Three four-year olds—a four mile heat—ran in eight minutes. The Democrat, Bonaparte, The Makepeace—the latter belonged to Tayloe, and beat. The bet was the Jockey purse of 500 dollars. A vast collection of people, about the same as last year.

Nov. 14, *Wednesday.* Did not attend the races. At the House. Short session.

Nov. 16, *Friday.* Have this week been reading Murray's Elements of Chemistry, a most excellent work, in two vols. Borrowed it of Mr. Rapine.

Nov. 20, *Tuesday.* So much engaged in making extracts from Murray's Principles of Chemistry, that I did not go to the Hall. This is an excellent work, containing the new nomenclature of airs, acids, etc.; giving clear, philosophical ideas of the principles of all natural bodies in the three kingdoms, and a general and useful view of the operation and products of natural and artificial Chemistry.

Nov. 21, *Wednesday.* All our family, but General Wadsworth and myself, went to Mt. Vernon by water. Found I had a severe cold coming on. After Congress adjourned, walked with Mr. Pickering from the Capitol to Holt's Garden. When I got home, found myself quite exhausted, and had a very sick night.

Dec. 2, *Sunday.* Attended worship at the Capitol. Mr. McCormick preached. Mr. Jefferson and his Secretary, Burril, attended. Do not recollect to have seen his last Secretary, Harvey, at meeting. These are the men that broke up William and Mary's College, and were afterward expelled from New Jersey College for atheism and infidelity.

Mr. Taggart and myself attended the funeral of Mr.

Laurie's* child, by desire. Many members attended. Mr. Balch, Mr. Wiley, McCormick, Taggart, and myself rode to the grave at Georgetown in the coach with the corpse. A large number of coaches.

Dec. 3–7. Attended at the Hall.

Dec. 9, *Sunday.* At the Capitol. Mr. McCormick preached on Profane Swearing, "Thou shalt not take the name of the Lord thy God in vain." A pathetic, good sermon. In the afternoon, attended Mr. Laurie's funeral sermon on the death of his child, "I shall go to him, but he shall not return to me."

Dec. 12–14. Attended at the Capitol. Let Jess. have two dollars.

Dec. 16, *Lord's Day.* Attended in the Hall. A Mr. Glendy,† now settled in Baltimore, preached. He was on a moral subject—Live peaceably as much as possible with all men. His language remarkably refined and elegant, his matter sentimental, his manner animated and pleasing; not over acted; displayed much ingenuity; but his adulation offered to the President disgusting. He is a flaming Irish patriot. A rebellion arose pretty much in his society; many were executed. He fled, and came to Virginia, and has now a large congregation in Baltimore. A Mr. Emmet, brother to Emmet, the Lawyer, who was executed, was with him.

---

* Rev. James Laurie, D.D., was born in Edinburgh, Scotland, in 1778, and educated at the University of Edinburgh. He came to America in 1802, to enter the service of the Associate Reformed Church. In 1803, he was installed pastor of the Associate Reformed Church at Washington, D. C., of which Hon. Joseph Nourse, Register of the United States Treasury, was a leading member. Mr. Laurie continued pastor of this church until his death, in 1853. For the same time, fifty years, he was a clerk in the Register's office, a position to which he had been appointed by Mr. Nourse. Williams College conferred the degree of D.D. upon him, 1815.—*See Sprague's Anna's of the American Pulpit.*

† John Glendy, D.D., was born near Londonderry, Ireland, in 1755. He graduated at the University of Glasgow; studied theology, and was ordained to the ministry of the Presbyterian Church, and accepted a call from the church in Londonderry, where he soon acquired great influence among the people. He was outspoken against the policy of Great Britain toward Ireland, and rendered himself obnoxious to the government. A troop of horse sent to arrest him burned his house on discovering his escape. He surrendered himself to the authorities, was tried, and condemned to perpetual exile. The ship in which he embarked put in at the port of Norfolk, Virginia, in distress. Mr. Glendy preached a sermon in the Court-house, by invitation of the Captain, to the passengers and crew. Many citizens attended. Attracted by his eloquence and learning his story, they interested themselves in his behalf. This was in 1799. He soon received a call from Staunton, Virginia, where he supplied both the churches of Staunton and Bethel. In 1803, he was installed pastor of the Second Presbyte-

Dec. 17–21. At the Capitol. Finished reading third volume of Gibbon's Roman History. Returned it, and took out the fourth volume.

Dec. 22, *Saturday.* No setting of the House. In my chamber all day. Studied hard.

Dec. 23, *Sunday.* Attended worship at the Treasury. Mr. Laurie alone. Sacrament. Full assembly. Three tables; service very solemn; nearly four hours. Cold day.

Dec. 24, *Monday.* At the Capitol. Studied hard and late.

Dec. 25, *Tuesday, Christmas.* Mr. Chittenden, Mr. Claggett, and myself went to the Catholic Chapel at Georgetown. A pretty good sermon by a Catholic Priest from Philadelphia. Singing solemn. Much ceremony, particularly in elevating the Cup and Wafer.

Dec. 26, *Wednesday.* Did not go to the Capitol. Very thin House, and nothing done. Studied hard.

Dec. 27, *Thursday.* At the Capitol. Dined with Mr. Nourse,* at his country-seat, back of Georgetown. Mr. Pickering, Hillhouse, and Smith, of Ohio, of the Senate; Mr. Taggart, Morrow, and myself, of the House; Mr. Laurie and lady, Mr. Van Ness and lady, made up our company. Returned early in the evening. Studied late.

---

rian Church of Baltimore, where he continued until his death, in 1832. He was Chaplain of the House of Representatives in 1806, and of the United States Senate in 1815 and 1816.—*See Sprague's Annals of the American Pulpit.*

* Joseph Nourse was born in London, 1754; died near Georgetown, D. C., 1841. He came to America in 1769; served during the Revolution as Secretary to General Charles Lee, Auditor of Continental Board of War, and Assistant Auditor-General. He was appointed Register of the United States Treasury in 1789, and held the office forty years. He was Vice-President of the American Bible Society.—*See Drake's Dictionary Am. Biog.*

Dec. 28, *Friday.* At Capitol. Studied, and completed the work I had intended.

Dec. 30, *Lord's Day.* Attended at the Capitol. Mr. Laurie preached a good sermon. It was ingenious and handsomely delivered. People very attentive.

Dec. 31, *Monday.* At the War Office, on Mr. Cleaveland's business. Attended at the Capitol.

[*From Thomas C. Cushing.*]

SALEM, *Nov.* 15, 1804.

REV. DR. CUTLER.

Dear Sir:—Before this reaches you, you will have learned that the result of that—I was going to say, foolish—method of our Legislature, prescribed for the choice of electors, is such as our Virginia masters wish. A majority of our representatives to the next Congress will probably be of the same cast, and probably another election will make the whole so. Indeed, I am inclined to think it would be better that our representation should be wholly of this character, than of the mixed kind it now is. Parties, in that case, would probably soon assume a new name, and New England Democrats become in reality Federalists under such a new name. The Virginians are now so strong, even in the camp of their adversaries, that it appears impossible to prevent great concessions to her demands, which will undoubtedly make the difficulty of regaining our rights very great; but the men who will not reason or foresee consequences, and who are now making all the mischief among us, will by and by be convinced by their feelings, and will be most noisy, if not the most efficient, opposers of Virginia claims.

The difficulties into which the Virginia measures are leading the nation, I imagine, will be in some degree manifested in your present session, and it is not easy to see how government will manage the subject of Louisiana. The Message, which we now begin to expect, will no doubt gloss it over with a sufficient degree of sophistry. It is a matter of curiosity and inquiry, whether that —— Burr will have the audacity to take his seat in the Senate, and, if he does, how will he be received and treated by that body. Can they submit to the degradation of the presidency of a man lying under the legal imputation of murder? Will not N. Jersey claim him as a fugitive from justice? Will not an impeachment be moved against him in your House? But, doubtless, impeachment against ten judges would be voted, before one would be against a murderer.

If I understand the policy adopted by the Federalists last session, it was to keep aloof from all debates on subjects which could not be converted into subjects of local interests. This plan, at least, gives moderate Democrats an opportunity to come round, without professing to abandon their principles. These they may retain, and still advance the necessity of supporting their local interests, as an excuse for coalescing with the Federalists. There are, from time to time, indications that the Democrats begin to think. A pretty active Democrat, immediately preceding our late election, made inquiry whether Crowninshield voted for the extinguishment of the state balance, saying that, if he did, he would not vote for him as representative. This makes me desirous of knowing the fact, and also respecting all his votes involving the New E. interests. If an easy reference can be made to the journals, would thank you for such information.

As circumstances have changed, the (now) Democratic party have thought it convenient to change their designating name, but perhaps it is not best they should have their choice what we should call them. I am glad that we for ourselves have stuck to the name of Federalists, it wears well, and I believe they would be glad to filch it from us. But for them I should think present circumstances would make it expedient we should call them by the name of the Virginia party. A uniformity among the editors is desirable. For us to adopt the name of N. E., or Northern party, I should think would be dangerous, on account of our friends in the Southern States, a name which would seem to exclude them from our community. That of Federalists makes no geographical distinction. The Federalists of the South might perhaps be as afraid of a New England as a Virginia party, especially some time hence, when local interests will more prevail.

From our treaties, and various connections and engagements with foreign nations, we must undoubtedly preserve our union, under some form or other; should the form change, and the people of the North feel their true dignity, I presume they will make their influence felt. Providence has hitherto made every thing turn out wonderfully for our good. I still trust that future events will be of the same effect. . . .

I remain your obliged friend and humble servant,

THOS. C. CUSHING.*

WASHINGTON, *Nov.* 30, 1804.

CAPTAIN FITCH POOLE.

Dear Sir:—It is with great satisfaction I hear of the attention to religion in the remote part of your Society, which both you and the Doctor have mentioned. I hope the influence of the Holy Spirit may attend the preaching and other means used with these people. It is a happiness to see those in the lowest grade of society attending to their highest interests. But the true friends of the glorious Gospel of the Son of God will reflect upon the almost inconceivable influence which men in power, and those who move in the principal circles of social life will have upon the great mass of the people! How gloomy to see a great portion of this description not merely enemies to the Cross, but disposed to remove from the minds of the people, whom they view so far below them, every idea of a Deity, of accountability, or of future existence! How desirable it would be to have the attention of those who have so much influence called up, and to see them engaged with as much solicitude to promote as they now are to discourage and destroy the influence of the Gospel! It is true the great Ruler of the universe can accomplish His own purpose, and will do it in His own way and time. But this can not lessen our obligations, nor excuse suitable exertions to promote the great designs of redemption. The religious complexion of our country is to me extremely gloomy.

---

* Thomas C. Cushing was the editor and proprietor of the Salem Gazette, with which he was connected many years. "As a journalist he was lucid, earnest, and usually courteous, but he spared no energy of argument or of denunciation which his cause seemed to him to require."—*Newspaper Writers in New England,* 1787-1815, *by Delano A. Goddard.*

Dr. Bently has declined to come and act as Chaplain. The House have since chosen Mr. Parkinson, the old Chaplain, who has also declined. While I have been writing this letter, we have given in our votes for the third time, and I have the pleasure to inform you that Mr. Laurie, of this city, is elected. This is the gentleman whom I have ever wished might have the appointment. The House is now about to adjourn. My love to all.

Your affectionate parent,
M. CUTLER.

WASHINGTON, *Dec.* 18, 1804.

CAPTAIN FITCH POOLE.

Dear Sir:— . . . The greater portion of business which has hitherto been before our House has been unimportant and local. You will see by the papers that the trial of Judge Chase is to commence on the 2d of January. It is said he will have no counsel. This is much regretted. However able he may be to plead his own cause, and perhaps few can excel him, yet a lawyer might say many things and illustrate some very important points which modesty would forbid him to notice. And this seems to be a case of that complexion in which no man, consistently, could say himself all that ought in truth and justice to be said in his vindication. It is expected, however, that some gentleman will volunteer in his service.

The most interesting subjects, as mere matters of legislation, which we have had before us, are two bills, one for regulating harbors, etc., the object of which is to have a control over armed ships, when within the jurisdiction of the United States, to prevent the impressment of seamen from on board our vessels. A law of this kind is much wanted, and is highly necessary, but it is not easy to frame such a law as will be effectual, and guard against infringement of treaties and the law of nations.

The Virginia party have sensibly felt the difficulty and their own incapacity. The first bill was a most miserable thing. When it came to be examined and analyzed by the Federalists, they were glad to withdraw it. After some time another was reported, which was not, indeed, so bad, but so defective, that they have laid it by for the present. The principal provision of the first bill was to throw the whole power into the hands of the President, and the last comes pretty much to the same point at last. What will be done is uncertain.

The other bill is to regulate the clearance of armed merchant vessels. The object is to interdict all trade with the subjects of the Emperor of Hayti. The discussion has given full proof of the ascendency of Bonaparte over our government. It is so evident, that agreeably to the laws of nations we have a clear right to trade with this nation, and so certain, that if it be prohibited a very valuable branch of our commerce, which affords much revenue, will go into the hands of other nations, the Democrats know not how to keep their popularity, while they do so great an injury to their country. But the bug-bear is a war with France, and in fact there appears to be a large proportion who would be glad wholly to annihilate commerce. In this bill, as in the other, there was an attempt to put the business into the hands of the President, and make him as despotic over commerce as he is over Louisiana.

This bill has been worked, and molded, and beat, and banged, and purged so as just to pass to be engrossed. But it is considered still an abominable thing. I have not time to point its errors. And yet some of the Virginia party do not think it bad enough, and probably on the third reading will reject it with the hope of obtaining a worse. It is very doubtful to me whether it passes. . . .

Your affectionate parent,

M. Cutler.

Jan. 1, 1805, *Tuesday*. Congress did not sit. The most of our family went to the President's to present him the compliments of the season. The mournful news General Wadsworth had received of the death of his son, Lieutenant Wadsworth, who was in the vessel blown up at Tripoli, was communicated, yesterday, to the House, in a message from the President. We went at twelve. The French Minister, General Taureau,* had been in, and was returning. We met him at the door, covered with lace almost from head to foot, and very much powdered. Walked with his hat off, though it was rather misty; his Secretary, one Aide, and one other, with him. When we went in, the number was small, but soon increased, until the Levee room, which is large, was nearly full. A large number of Ladies, Heads of Departments, Foreign Ministers and Consuls, and the greater part of both Houses of Congress. The British Minister was in a plain dress, but superb carriage. We had cake of different kinds; silver urns, filled with punch; mammoth cheese.

Jan. 2. Trial of Judge Chase (of Maryland, Associate Justice of the U. S. Supreme Court) commenced. He prayed for a postponement to the next session of Congress. The Judge addressed the Court, stated his reasons for asking for a postponement, and withdrew. The Senate then retired.

Jan. 3, *Thursday.* The Senate formed again into High Court of Impeachment. The oaths administered. Judge Chase filed an affidavit, stating his reasons for praying for a postponement. Order for fixing the day of trial—first day December, ayes, 12, nays, 18; then fourth February, ayes, 21, nays, 9. Most of the members of the House attended. Chairs provided on the floor of the Senate Chamber. Wrote Ephraim.†

---

* General Tourreau was Minister from France under the reign of Egalité, and his career seems to have been one characteristic of that period. Of obscure birth, but handsome and clever, he made his way up, and became an aide to Napoleon Bonaparte. In the rapid changes of popular favor, he was condemned to death—his door marked with the fatal guide to the bloody guillotiners. A servant girl employed about the jail rubbed out the mark, and so saved his life, in return for which he married her; the alliance, of course, proved to be a most unhappy one, ending in a separation at the time he was representing his country in Washington.—*Memoirs and Letters of Dolly Madison.*

† The following is an extract from this letter: "Last spring I published my request not to be considered as a candidate at the next election. Many of my friends urged me to consent to be a candidate once more, particularly on account of the spirit of the times and the extreme difficulty of finding a man who would consent to be elected in whom the Federalists would be united. I could not reconcile the

Jan. 8, 9, 10. Debates on ceding Alexandria to Virginia. Very full galleries. The question taken—yeas, 46, nays, 72.

Jan. 11, *Friday.* It was announced in the House, by Mr. Anderson, that one of the members (Mr. James Gillespie) had departed this life the preceding night, and that his interment was proposed to-morrow. On motion of Dr. Dickson, an order was taken to go into mourning, and wear crape one month. To go from the Capitol to the house and grave.

Jan. 12, *Saturday.* House met, received crape for the arm, and adjourned. Attended the funeral at the house of Mr. Sweney, in Pennsylvania Avenue. Wine, spirits, and biscuits on the table. Messrs. Balch, Laurie, and McCormick present. They had white scarfs, containing three yards of cambric muslin; the bearers the same, and also the Clerk of the House and Sergeant-at-Arms. Carriages provided for both Houses. He was buried in the new burying-ground in Georgetown. The coffin, mahogany.

Jan. 14–17. Attended the House. Not much done.

Jan. 18, *Friday.* At the House. A motion to make blacks free who were born in this city after the 4th of July next—failed. Ayes and noes.

Jan. 21, *Monday.* Wind high and very cold. One of the severest days I have experienced for many years, especially coming from the Capitol just before sunset.

Jan. 26, *Saturday.* No sitting. We proposed in our family to call on Mr. Taureau, French Minister, who had called and left his cards for us. All except Colonel Hough, who was unwell (six of us), went in a coach to his house. As he was at home, we went in, and were conducted to a large hall, up one pair of stairs. Mr. Huger and General Butler arrived

---

thought to my own feelings. It is a business extremely unpleasant to me. . . . They have made choice of a man of education, good sense, and a sound Federalist, and who sustains an excellent character. . . . His name is Nelson."

Jeremiah Nelson was born in Rowley, Mass., 1769; graduated, Dartmouth, 1796; settled in Newburyport, Mass., as merchant; Member Congress, 1805 to 1807, and again from 1815 to 1823; died, Newburyport, 1823.—*Lanman's Dictionary of Congress.*

just as we did, and introduced us to General Taureau. Found him disposed to be quite social, though he speaks very little English. One of his Aides-de-Camp assisted in the conversation. We tarried about an hour, and retired. We then went in two coaches to the English Minister's, Mr. Merry, and left our cards, without getting out of our coaches.

Jan. 27, *Sunday.* Very snowy day. Went to the Capitol. Mr. Laurie preached. Very thin meeting. Mr. Francis Dodge here and dined with us.

Jan. 28, *Monday.* Gave Mr. McCreary minutes for Micheaux's on the Oaks and Micheaux's Flora Borealis Americana, Mr. McCreary to send for the books.

Jan 29, *Tuesday.* At the Capitol. John Randolph made his *fire and brimstone* speech on the Georgia Land business.

Jan. 30, *Wednesday.* Debates, warm and pointed, against Randolph.

Jan. 31, *Thursday.* Same debates continued. Federalists took no part, but they enjoyed the squabble among the Demos.

Feb. 1, *Friday.* Letter from Granger (Postmaster-General), complaining of the attacks from Randolph, and calling for a public examination of his official conduct. The House quite in the style of a French Convention. Randolph's second speech more outrageous than the first. Dana's speech excellent.

Feb. 4, *Monday.* Impeachment of Judge Chase came to trial. Court opened at twelve. Mr. Harper read the answer of the Judge, and read incomparably well. A great number of spectators. Managers requested time to prepare a replication.

Feb. 6, *Wednesday.* Managers reported their replication to the House. It was general and expressed in harsh terms. The managers appeared much nettled and perplexed. Motions for striking out exceptionable words failed.

Feb. 8, *Friday.* The Court met. Witnesses called over on both sides, about twenty. The managers requested longer time. Allowed till to-morrow, twelve o'clock.

Feb. 9, *Saturday.* House did business from ten to twelve. The Court opened at twelve. Randolph made his speech;

nothing great; closed with much spitefulness. Lewis, Dallas, and Sawyer gave in their evidence on trial of Fries. It amounted to nothing of any weight. Adjourned to Monday.

The Supreme Court began their session on Monday, and continued through the week. Judge Chase was on the bench a part of the time.

Feb. 10, *Lord's Day.* At the Capitol. Mr. McCormick preached. Marines attended in the gallery. After service, they performed Denmark. The music was excellent. It was said they had only two days to learn the tune. Very full assembly. Many ladies.

Feb. 12, *Tuesday.* At the Capitol. This day, in compliance with a card received eight or ten days ago, dined with his Excellency, Mr. Merry, Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary to his Britannic Majesty. Company, 28, 13 members of Congress. Table superb, the plate in the center, and in the last service, the knives, forks, and spoons were gold. Six double-branched, silver candlesticks, with candles lighted. A very pleasing entertainment. Coffee in the drawing-room, immediately after dining. Retired about nine. Six from our family went in a coach, and returned on foot. This day Mr. Dodge put my trunk on board the schooner Alert, at Alexandria, for Boston. Jess goes in the schooner, passage free. He set out this afternoon for Alexandria.

Feb. 13–16. Judge Chase's trial continued. Several interesting witnesses in favor of the Judge.

Feb. 17, *Sunday.* Mr. Laurie preached at the Capitol. Two pieces of psalmody performed by the band of the Marine corps. They attended in their uniform, about 80 or 100.

Feb. 19, *Tuesday.*. Court opened at ten. Witnesses examined, and closed. It is said the number has been about sixty. House sat. Dined at Mr. Merry's—a small company.

Feb. 20, *Wednesday.* Court at ten. Mr. Early, of Georgia, opened on the part of the managers. His plea short, but well arranged—went over the whole ground, and handsomely spoken. He was followed by G. W. Campbell, of Tennessee; long and tedious; did not finish.

Feb. 21, *Thursday.* Campbell finished at eleven, when Mr.

Hopkinson, of Philadelphia, began on the part of the Judge. He confined himself to the first article, the parts being divided among the five counsel, and spoke three and a half hours. His speech was lucid, pointed, and convincing. Every sentence and every word perfectly in point, and with effect. The elocution had nothing to recommend it, but the language was extremely impressive, and the effect on the auditory prodigiously great.

Feb. 22, *Friday.* Judge Key made an able, judicious, learned plea, extremely well spoken, and perhaps can not be excelled. He spoke three hours, on three articles, principally on Callender's trial. Mr. Charles Lee, late Attorney-General U. S., followed—was nearly three hours, mostly on legal authorities. He is slow, but not inferior, in the part assigned him, to his predecessors.

Feb. 23, *Saturday.* Mr. Luther Martin, Attorney-General of Maryland, spoke five hours—did not conclude. Very pertinent, much law knowledge, and much well pointed humor.

Feb. 25, *Monday.* Mr. Luther Martin spoke nearly three hours, and concluded. Mr. Harper followed. He spoke five hours, and closed on the part of the Judge.

Feb. 26, *Tuesday.* Mr. Nicholson spoke two and a half hours. Mr. Rodney followed, and spoke about five hours when the Court adjourned, but he had not closed his plea. This evening at the British Minister's, by invitation to "Tea and Cards." General Wadsworth, General Chittenden, and myself, from our family. The company very large. About thirty-five members of both Houses of Congress, all the Heads of Departments, their ladies and daughters, many gentlemen and ladies of the City and Georgetown, and many strangers. The wives and daughters of members also present. I presume the number 150, or 200. Band of music, and a variety of entertainment.

Feb. 27, *Wednesday.* Mr. Rodney concluded his plea in about an hour. Then Randolph began, and spoke about three and a half hours—an outrageous, infuriated declamation,* which might have done honor to Marat, or Robespierre.

---

* John Quincy Adams, in his diary, says of this speech of Randolph, that it was, "Without order, connection, or argument; con-

Feb. 28, *Thursday.* Sat long in the House. Attended to sundry preparations for journey home.

Mar. 1, *Friday.* At 12, the House attended the Court. Sentence pronounced. The President stated the question on each Article, and each member rose, and pronounced, guilty or not guilty. On an average of the votes, he was acquitted by more than half. Spectators numerous, perfect order. In the House, Randolph made another mad speech, and proposed amendments to the Constitution. Tempest in the House.

Mar. 2, *Saturday.* Walked 15 miles. Dined at Mr. Merry's, by Mrs. Merry's invitation. She came twice to invite me. Presented me with Darwin. House sat till ten o'clock.

Mar. 3, *Sunday.* House sat, but I did not attend till sunset, and left the House at eight. Stowed my trunk, and packed all my baggage, to start at 4 o'clock in the morning.

WASHINGTON, *Jan.* 12, 1805.

TO TEMPLE CUTLER.

My Son:— . . . The attempt to remove the seat of government, though in a covert way, is renewed. The first step was to re-cede Alexandria to Virginia. This motion was taken up on Monday, and occupied the House four days. There was much spouting, and some handsome speaking. In the course of the debates, several of the more modest Democrats were seriously alarmed, and some expressed their sentiments with a degree of boldness. Out of doors, they conversed freely with the Federalists, who were to a man opposed to the motion. The people through the district were much alarmed, held their meetings, passed spirited resolutions, and petitioned Congress. To take off the ostensible reason which the friends of the motion have held for receding, the people,

---

sisting altogether of the most hackneyed commonplaces of popular declamation, mingled up with panegyrics and invectives upon persons, with a few well expressed ideas, a few striking figures, much distortion of face and contortion of body, tears, groans, and sobs, with occasional pauses for recollection, and continual complaints of having lost his notes."—*Memoirs of John Quincy Adams, volume* 1, *page* 359.

with much promptitude, are preparing to petition for a limited legislation, which would remove the complaint that Congress are obliged to spend much time in Legislating for them. During the debates the galleries were crowded with the people. But their fears are removed for the present. On taking the final question for receding: ayes, 46; nays, 72. An attempt was then made to recede the city, and Georgetown, but the numbers the same. In this business we have another instance of Democratic economy. The daily expenses of Congress, including contingencies, is calculated at about $1,400 per day. This foolish motion must have cost the United States more than $5,000. But it is now threatened to bring up the same question in the next Congress. It is generally believed here, that it is an implacable inveteracy (of hatred) felt against the place and the name of Washington, which is the real cause of all this exertion to remove the (seat) of government. . . .

Your affectionate parent,

M. Cutler.

Washington, *Feb.* 2, 1805.

To Dr. Torrey.

Dear Sir:— . . . As I have just now only a few moments to devote to this letter, I hasten to give you some further account of the very interesting business of which I began some detail in my last. I do not perfectly recollect where I left off, but I believe it was with the rising of the House on Wednesday evening.

On Thursday morning Mr. Jackson,* of Virginia, was first on the floor, in favor of the claims. He was long and pointedly severe on Randolph. I do not recollect the order, nor is it necessary to mention the speakers. All who were in favor of the claims noticed the outrage and abuse of Randolph. There was, at times, much warmth.

---

* John G. Jackson, of Clarksburg, Virginia, was a prominent figure in Virginia politics for many years. He was several times a member of the Virginia Legislature; was eight times elected a member of Congress; was appointed Judge of the United States Court for the Western District of Virginia, in 1819. Died, 1825.

Yesterday, as soon as the House came to order, the Speaker read a letter from Granger, addressed through him to the House, conceived in spirited but decent terms, complaining of the attempted attack upon his public and private character by a member, within the walls and on the floor of the House, requesting a public investigation (that is, an impeachment). Much agitation instantly appeared, and no inconsiderable noise on one side of the House. Mr. Varnum made a motion, in writing, for committing the letter to a select committee, to inquire and make a statement of facts. We were, in a few minutes, quite in the style of a French Convention. The Speaker could not keep order. Points of order were disputed. Appeals on questions of order were made from the chair to the House, and the question taken by calling the yeas and nays. But, in every instance, the decision was in favor of the chair, and against Randolph and his party. At length, to calm the tumult, a motion was made to postpone Varnum's motion until Monday, and prevailed. After the violence had subsided, the report on the claims was again called up. Eliot rose again, and redoubled his attack upon Randolph. I wish I could give you the substance of his speech, but neither paper nor time will permit. He took judicious ground, displayed firmness and spirit, and was much applauded by all the Federalists. Some others followed. At length, Randolph rose the second time. I did not note the time, but presume he spoke about two hours—if possible, more outrageous and violent than before. His party, as well as the rest, had an intolerable whipping again. He denounced them for joining the Federalists; told them he took his first Congressional degree in a minority; he had almost constantly, this session, when he was present at a vote, found himself in a minority, and had the mortification to see, in this republican House, those remains of an expiring Federal faction voting in a majority. (The fact is, the Federalists have carried nearly every vote they have wished to carry; and it is supposed that, in two-thirds of the votes, when we were disposed to unite, we were in the majority.)

Thus far the Democrats had occupied the field entirely; not a Federalist had opened his mouth, and the whole of the party rage which appeared in the House was on their side and among themselves. There was much whispering about that Randolph and Root would settle the point between them by a duel. There appeared to be others who were not far removed from the fighting mood. By others, much concern was expressed lest they should break to pieces—that another party would be established, or the *Moderates* would go over to the Federalists. In short, the scene was new and interesting.

Mr. Dana was the Chairman of the Committee of Claims who made the report, but a majority of that Committee were Democrats. This Committee had been most shamefully abused, and Mr. Dana had been vibrating in opinion whether it was best, as he was a Federalist, to speak for the purpose of vindicating the conduct of the Committee. His friends thought it best for him to do it. He rose (the last) yesterday, and delivered a speech which excited universal astonishment. It was superlative in every part, and the dignified manner in which it was delivered was the laurel which crowned the whole. He outshone himself. Never did the Democratic part of the House appear so degraded. Never did a culprit cringe and writhe like Randolph under the smarting strokes of his keen-edged (but delicate) irony. At the close of this speech, the House rose.

This day has been occupied on the same question. The speakers have been many. Dawson came out in the most pointed manner against Randolph; a flowery speech, and, at the close of it, had something very like a daring hint that he was ready to walk to the ground where gentlemen sometimes discharge their pistols. . Several speakers followed, and between four and five the question was taken: ayes, 63; nays, 58; and a bill was ordered to be brought in founded on the report.

This has been a scene which has much exceeded any thing I have ever witnessed. No Federalist has said a word, except Mr. Dana, and a short amendment proposed just at the close of the business by Mr. Huger, who said a few words in support of it. I have forgotten to mention that Randolph, in a third speech, attempted to coax his party by giving them sugar-cakes, and either the *whip* or the cakes have had some effect, but it is impossible to determine how much.

Just as the vote was taken, five or six members withdrew and did not vote. Most of them are known to be in favor of the claims, but whether it was the fear of Randolph or some other fear that drove them from their seats is uncertain. For two or three days past, Randolph has been going about among his party in the House, and has been observed to be often crying. No wonder; boys cry when they are whipped, and sometimes more whipping is necessary to make them quiet. When Dana sat down, *Johnny* came immediately round to him, to his chair, and was observed to be crying while he was whispering to him. It was hinted, just after we rose to day, that he had actually sent Dana a challenge, but I do not credit it, nor have I any fear that Dana will fight. What will be the consequence of all this, I am more than ever at a loss to conjecture. We have just heard that the Pennsylvania Judges are acquitted, and many here think that this event, and what has happened in our House, will have influence in favor of Judge Chase, and that he will be acquitted. Should it be so, I should think that the gloom that hangs over our country would begin to dissipate. But the spirit of democracy is implacable. The Virginia party fear and hate New England, whatever may be their political characters. It has been a common saying here this winter, that "*There is no being in nature that a Virginian hates so much as a New England Democrat.*" I have now seen much to confirm it.

Yours, affectionately,

M. Cutler.

Washington, *Feb.* 21, 1805.

Mrs. Torrey.

My Dear Daughter:— . . . We have this winter been cooped up in a chamber in the wing of the Capitol, which has afforded no room for ladies to attend the debates. The Hall where we used to sit has been pulled down for the purpose of building up the other wing, agreeably to the original plan. If there had been as many ladies as have attended heretofore, I might have collected something from head-dresses, shawls, bonnets, or some other rare shows, to have furnished material for a letter.

I have lately been frequently at the British Ambassador's, and have found Mrs. Merry a very accomplished and agreeable lady. She is quite a botanist, and understanding that I had attended to that science, she has solicited an acquaintance. They spent the summer in Philadelphia, where Mrs. Merry was sick, and did not recover her health, so as to be able to come on to this city, until the first of January. Immediately on their arrival Mrs. Merry informed the Swedish Counsel-General, Mr. Soderstrom, with whom I have been particularly intimate since I first came to Congress, of her earnest wish to be acquainted with me, as a botanist, but she was immediately taken sick with a fever, in consequence of a violent cold she caught on her journey. It has confined her to the house from that time to this. For a few weeks past she has been able to see company, At the invitation of Mr. Merry I have dined there frequently. Lately she has been able to attend to botanical matters. She has a fine collection of books, and a large number of specimens. She appears to understand the science very well, and is a perfect enthusiast in her favorite pursuit. It is her earnest wish to preserve American plants, and to be informed about our vegetable productions. The dreary, uncultivated state of this part of the country is extremely disagreeable to her. She expresses her astonishment at the want of taste in gardens, walks, etc., and that the ladies in this country have no relish for the most beautiful productions of nature.

At Baltimore and Philadelphia she observed, when she went into a lady's apartment, she found nothing but toilets and dressing tables—not a flower, not a dried specimen of any kind, not a book, but some foolish novels. No taste for the admirable works of the Beneficent Creator, who was scattering around in great profusion the incontestible evidences of His being and perfections.

But it is not in my power to be particular. If I had time I would give some history of a dining day, of the table and its furniture, but pressure of business at this time puts it out of of my power. The time, I hope, is not far distant, when I

LIBRARY ILLINOIS

may have the pleasure of seeing you and detailing some little anecdotes respecting this very pleasing family. . . .

I am, my dear child,
Your most affectionate parent,
M. CUTLER.

REV. DR. DANA. WASHINGTON, *Feb.* 28, 1805.

Dear Sir:— . . . The general character of this session, until the Georgia claims were called up, has been totally different from the three preceding. The hydra of party spirit had not, except in one or two instances, before that time, made its appearance. Owing to the general absence of two or three members (occupied in preparing to carry on the impeachment), much harmony prevailed. It is believed, in more than two-thirds of the votes, the Federalists were in the majority. Mr. Griswold was acknowledged by many of the Democrats (and with satisfaction) to be the most influential member in the House. Randolph became sensible of the loss of his popularity.

On the question of the Georgia claims, in two outrageous speeches, he undertook to whip in his party, which he has in some degree affected, but there are a few who refuse to bow the knee, and there is evidently a design to establish a third party. Whether such a party be really established time will determine. They consist at present of the more moderate, judicious, and independent part of the Democrats. The most violent adhere to Randolph, and are ready to go all lengths. If the *Moderates* will be *violent* enough to persevere in their *moderation*, there is much reason to believe they would pretty easily slide over to Federal principles.

The pleading in the highly interesting trial of Judge Chase closed yesterday evening. The sentence is to be pronounced to-morrow at 12 o'clock. . . . The witnesses, about 60 in number, were of an unusual description of character—all gentlemen of the bench, the bar, or respectable standing in society. With some exceptions, there was great uniformity, considering the length of time since the transaction took place. Generally there was no appearance of the bias of party politics. But it was painful to observe in a number, not more than four or five of the most indifferent characters, too strong symptoms of the prejudice of party. The character of the Judge has been ransacked with the utmost scrutiny. . . . You will have seen in the papers the feeble speech of Randolph at the opening of the trial. Yesterday he closed on the part of the managers. We had the mortification for three hours to hear his outrageous invectives against the Judge. . . .

We are waiting with much anxiety for the sentence; whether he is acquitted or condemned, we can not refrain from a glimmer of hope that it may have some good effect upon our country. May heaven avert from us the evils that hang over our heads. Let us look with steadfast hope, and humbly trust to that all-wise superintending power which alone can save us from ruin. With kind respects to your lady and family,

Accept my sincere affection and friendship,

M. CUTLER.

WASHINGTON, *March* 1, 1805.

DR. TORREY.

My Dear Sir:— . . . The day before yesterday, the pleadings on the trial were closed. Never in this country, on any one occasion, has so much ability or professional knowledge been displayed as has been by the Counsel of the Judge. Nor has there ever been a trial of equal importance to be decided. The parts of the defense were very judiciously divided between the five gentlemen, according to their prevailing talents. Mr. Hopkinson and Judge Key have been thought impossible to excel. The impressions from the evidence seems to have been very uniformly the same on the numerous spectators. Every impartial mind, I believe, has felt the conviction that the Judge has discharged the duties of his office with great ability and legal propriety; that he has been scrupulously impartial on the most trying occasions, and preserved the strictest integrity amidst the tumult of party and passion, and throughout preserved an honorable independence. His whole character has been ransacked with the utmost scrutiny. Jocular conversation in private circles, expressions dropped while traveling in stages, at taverns and boarding-houses, have been brought to condemn him. The violence of persecution has been extended as far as the circumstances of our country would admit them to go. Most shameful advantage of a naturally social and facetious disposition has been attempted to the utmost. In the concluding pleas by Mr. Nicholson and Rodney, there was no bitterness, and, though feeble, they were unexceptionable. But Randolph, who closed on the part of the managers, has brought upon himself general contempt, and, with his own party, regret and reproach. We had the mortification to sit and hear, for more than three hours, the most outrageous invectives against the Judge, and fulsome panegyrics upon himself and his party. In the midst of his harangue, the fellow cried like a baby, with clear, sheer madness.

But the trial has been conducted with a propriety and solemnity throughout which reflects honor upon the Senate. It must be acknowledged that Burr has displayed much ability, and since the first day I have seen nothing of partiality. But he has heard some things, which it is believed he has sensibly felt. Randolph, in his last speech, undertook to arraign, try, and acquit him for killing Hamilton.

In a few minutes, we go to the Senate Chamber (exactly at 12) to hear the court pronounce the sentence. The Judge is sick, and returned to Baltimore some days past. I leave a blank here to insert the sentence.

The sentence is passed. I took minutes of every vote. The President proposed the question on each article—guilty or not guilty. Each member rose, and pronounced guilty or not guilty. On the first article, guilty, 16; not guilty, 18: second article, guilty, 10; not guilty, 24: third article, guilty, 18; not guilty, 16: fourth article, guilty, 18; not guilty, 16: fifth article, unanimous, not guilty, 34: sixth article, guilty, 4; not guilty, 30: seventh article, guilty, 10; not guilty, 24: eighth article, guilty, 19; not guilty, 15. The President pronounced an acquittal. There were six Democrats who voted not guilty throughout. There was a vast concourse of people, perfect order, and great solemnity.

I expect to set out on Monday. . . . We expect the traveling will be much of it excessively bad, but, by the kindness of Providence, hope for the pleasure of seeing you in twelve or fifteen days. . . . M. CUTLER.

I would earnestly recommend to you to take the Boston Repository. It is a most excellent paper, and will give you all the trial.

CHAPTER XVIII.

CORRESPONDENCE WITH DR. STILES, PROFESSOR WIGGLESWORTH, GENERAL LINCOLN.

Dr. Cutler's correspondence was very extensive. Comparatively few of his own letters have been recovered, but more are found of those he received, as it was his custom to preserve all such as were of any importance. In the lapse of years, many have disappeared. A portion of those which remain are given in this volume. They indicate the scope of subjects upon which he thought and wrote. The Rev. Dr. Joseph Torrey, late President of the University of Vermont, a grandson of Dr. Cutler, in a letter written to a friend some years since, says: "I always cherished a profound veneration for the memory of my grandfather. The respect with which I was taught to look up to him when I was too young to appreciate his worth, grew upon me the more I became able to understand what he was and what he had accomplished, and no one regrets more than I do the utter neglect shown to the papers he left behind him. Of the greater part of those papers I know nothing, except that they have been scattered and lost. I took pains once, during a short time of leisure, to copy the first part of the journal of his first journey to New York and Philadelphia, on the business of the Ohio lands, and would have copied the other, but could never get hold of it. I have not to this day learned the fate of his extensive correspondence. The many letters from so many of the eminent men of his age, both in the political and scientific world, had they been carefully preserved and kept together, might have been to his posterity a common and enduring legacy. But, so far as I know, they are scattered to the winds. Nobody knows what has become of them."

The following extract from Dr. Cutler's Diary reveals the fate of some of those manuscripts:

"*January* 20, 1812. Snowed most of the day; very cold.

When I was called from study to dine, I had very little fire on the hearth, which I took particular care of; but the wood I was burning was split hemlock. Immediately after dinner, the study was found to be filled with thick smoke, and that my writing-desk was on fire. Help soon came, but it was next to impossible to enter the chamber. After some time, the fire was checked. The desk was exceedingly burnt, and most of the contents inside consumed; numerous valuable articles destroyed. A large number of valuable books were on and in the desk, which were consumed or greatly injured. The destruction greater than I can describe. The only way to account for the fire is by the snapping of the hemlock wood. My pocket-book and paper money, about 80 dollars, was consumed. The loss probably 200 dollars. But we have great cause of thankfulness that the house was preserved."

Temple Cutler, Esq., writes of this event: "A fire in his study, one winter day, when he had left it to dine, communicated with his large writing-desk, which contained many valuable papers, among which were a number of manuscript volumes on scientific subjects, which were destroyed; and also many wills and similar instruments he had in keeping. But, fortunately, most of the latter were easily replaced."

"Book XIV. Descriptions of American Plants. M. Cutler." Such is the title-page of a volume of 344 pages, more than half filled with botanical notes made in 1804–7. It is one of a series of volumes on which Dr. Cutler had been engaged for many years, and from which he hoped to develop an extensive work on Botany; but, at the age of three score years and ten, with feeble health, the loss, by the fire in his study, of so many of these precious volumes, which could not be supplied, prevented the carrying out of this favorite project so nearly accomplished, and was to him a source of life-long regret. Doubtless many choice letters, from distinguished men at this time perished. Little is found of his correspondence with Franklin, Castiglioni, President Adams, Governor Bowdoin, and others with whom he is known to have had frequent communication.

Dr. Cutler's epistolary intercourse, on matters of business and friendship, with General Rufus Putnam, a Director of the

Ohio Company, and superintendent of the settlement at Marietta, Ohio, and Major Winthrop Sargent, Secretary of the Ohio Company, and of the North-western Territory, was very extensive; most of which has been preserved, and copious extracts are given in the first volume, as are also letters from General Samuel Holden Parsons, a Director of the Ohio Company, and Territorial Judge.

Dr. Cutler corresponded with many eminent men in America and Europe, among whom were: the Rev. Dr. Ezra Stiles, President of Yale College; Rev. Dr. Jeremy Belknap, author of the "History of New Hampshire," "The Foresters," etc.; General Benjamin Lincoln, Secretary of War, and commander of the forces of Massachusetts in Shay's Insurrection; Dr. Benjamin Smith Barton, author, and Professor of Botany in Philadelphia; Rev. Dr. Samuel Deane, Portland, Maine, author of "Agricultural Dictionary;" Rev. Dr. Jedidiah Morse, author of "Universal Geography," "History of New England," etc.; Dr. William Dandridge Peck, Professor of Natural History, Harvard University; Rev. Dr. Henry Muhlenberg, Lancaster, Pa., botanist, and author of "Catalogus Plantarum Amer. Septent.," etc.; Mr. Gustaf Paykull, zoologist, Counselor of the King of Sweden, author of "Fauna Sueciæ;" Dr. Olof Swartz, Stockholm, Sweden, botanist, author of "Flora Indiæ Occidentalis;" Prof. C. S. Rafinesque, Palermo, Sicily, author of "Natural History," in French, Italian, and English; Prof. J. Ranalds Forster, University of Halle, Prussia; Chevalier Andrea Murray, Professor of Botany and Materia Medica, University of Goettingen, Germany; Count Castiglioni, Milan, Italy, botanist; Dr. Jonathan Stokes, botanist, England; Hon. Timothy Pickering, statesman, U. S. Senator from Massachusetts; Hon. Ebenezer Hazard, U. S. Postmaster-General, author of "Historical Collections;" Hon. Nathan Dane, LL.D., member of Congress from Massachusetts; Hon. Samuel Taggart, minister of Coleraine, and member of Congress, Mass.; Colonel Benjamin Tallmadge, Treasurer of Ohio Company, and member of Congress from Connecticut. With some of the persons mentioned Dr. Cutler's correspondence was voluminous, and many distinguished names might be added to the list.

To Rev. Dr. Stiles. Ipswich, *Jan.* 5, 1778.

Rev'd Sir:—You have doubtless been sensible of the late frequent appearance of the *Aurora Borealis*, and that some of them have been unusually bright and extensive. From the 27th of November there have been six or seven, and two or three very remarkable. That on the 27th exceeded, in several circumstances, any that I remember, and is mentioned in the Paper as being "prodigious" great, as far southward as Lancaster, in Pennsylvania. But I am told that of December 21st was much more extraordinary in the latter part of the night.

This Phenomenon sensibly affects the minds of people in general, and by many is considered as portentious; which opinion they more readily embrace, as it has never been clearly explained from natural causes. But there may be no more reason to conclude this striking appearance is miraculous, or portentious, than we now believe Comets are, but is produced by some cause consonant to the established Laws of nature. Observing pretty carefully the late Auroræ, and taking notice of some very curious and unusual appearances, especially in those of November 27th and December 21st, I have thought more of them than ever before, and can not but wonder that they have no more engaged the attention of Philosophers; that they have not given us the Physical cause, or, at least, been more particular, in Philosophical Treatises, in considering so curious a Phenomenon.

It appears to me, however, that no general principles can be applied without depending too much upon mere Hypotheses, until some facts are ascertained with regard to the Aurora, by observations and experiments. I doubt not but you will be ready, Sir, to encourage inquiries of this kind. I therefore take the liberty to mention to you some observations and experiments, and my reasons for them, which I apprehend might lead to a more certain solution than can otherwise be made. Many others may doubtless be added. I shall submit their propriety to your judgment, and should be glad to know your opinion.

It seems that the Aurora has been, and, I believe, before the improvements made in Electricity, was generally, attributed to sulphurous and nitrous exhalations. Mr. De Mairan, F.R.S., indeed, investigated a new cause in the year 1734 (Philos. Trans., V. 8, p. 539). He supposed it to be the effect of the Solar Atmosphere making a descent at certain times and seasons of the year; that the Zodiacal Light, as it is called, spread on each side of the sun toward the Poles of the Earth in the form of Pyramids, and extended beyond the annual orbit of the Earth, blending itself with our Atmosphere, which, being heterogeneous, produced the several appearances of the Aurora. Mr. De Mairan makes the frequent appearing of the Aurora periodical. From the history of meteors he has computed twenty-two returns from the year 400 to 1716; makes the several Auroræ from 1707 to 1710, after their non-appearance of twenty years, but one return. But the present knowledge of the Atmospheres of the Sun and Planets must overturn his Hypothesis.

But the different phenomena of the Aurora may be, perhaps, more satisfactorily accounted for from Electricity than in any other way. There are several experiments that exhibit appearances in some respects similar, such as the approach of certain bodies to a large prime conductor when fully charged, and several experiments in an exhausted receiver. But experiments have not been made, that I have ever known of, sufficient to account for the several Phenomena, or for some of the most material; so that a solution from Electricity will be attended with its difficulties, until further discoveries are made.

The observations and experiments which I apprehend might be of great service in investigating the true cause and solving the greatest present difficulties of the Aurora are these:

1. That there be accurate observations made of every Aurora, for some considerable space of time, at least for twelve months, at some suitable distances North and South, and the two extremes as far distant as may be.

2. Let the state of the Air be nicely ascertained, both as to its density and heat, by a Barometer and Thermometer, and the course of the wind at the time and for some days before and after.

3. Let it be determined, by an Electrical Apparatus, if one

can be procured, whether the Air abroad be in any degree electrified, and if it is, whether it be positive or negative electricity. And,

4. Let the number, situation, figure, and motion of the Clouds in every part of the Hemisphere, and the appearance of the Atmosphere in different parts, be noted with as much accuracy as may be.

By comparing such observations and experiments made in different Latitudes, several material things may be known from which Hypotheses may be formed with greater certainty. The observation of the Aurora at different distances, and especially if the extreme distances are considerable, will determine, with sufficient exactness, in what regions of the Atmosphere those illuminated particles are, which at present, I presume, is very uncertain. If they are very low, or not higher than the Clouds, or than watery exhalations commonly rise, the elevation of the light from the horizon will be different at different distances, and a light that was low in the horizon far north would not be seen at any considerable distance south. And any person that has a little acquaintance with the Constellations may easily describe the height and extent of the Aurora, the length and direction of the corruscations, at different times and under all its changes, by the stars, for the Aurora is rarely seen but when the air is tolerably clear.

By observing the state of the air, which can not well be done but by keeping a diary for the whole time, many valuable purposes may be answered. From the state of the air may be conjectured, with greater certainty, what those corpuscles are which exhibit the luminous appearances. For the height to which different corpuscles will rise by exhalation must be in proportion to their specific gravities and the degree of heat acting upon them, by which they become expanded and exhaled. The course of the wind, at the time and before and after the Aurora, and the changes that take place in the air, may discover, in some degree, how far the current of the air, in different directions, may be concerned in producing the Phenomena. And inductions may be found, whether attrition, or the combination of heterogeneous particles, or the discharge of some fluid from corpuscles already overcharged to those which are destitute, or have not a due proportion, by those grand agents in nature, attraction and repulsion, are the cause of the appearances.

The Electrical Apparatus will likewise be of singular service, if it should be considerably electrified, especially in the winter and far northward, for it may from thence be almost demonstrated that the electrical fluid is principally concerned in the Aurora. It will also be necessary to take particular notice of those clouds that are above the horizon, as from their form, situation, and motion the current of the air in that part and region of the Atmosphere may be known, and whether the electrical fluid is discharged from them, or from one to another, or whether the Aurora really has, or has not, any connection with them.

It has generally been observed, when the Aurora is bright, that there is a long, dark cloud in the north, a little above the the horizon, but I believe there are some instances in which there has been none at all. Dr. Winthrop supposes it is not a proper cloud, but only an optical deception, because it is so rare that the stars are commonly seen through it. But in some of the late Auroræ the clouds not only entirely obscured the stars, but appeared sufficiently condensed to contain a large quantity of rain.

When we consider the velocity with which the lucid streams commonly shoot up, it is reasonable to suppose they can not be very high in the atmosphere—should they be in the upper regions of it, their velocity and length must be amazingly great, and the condensation of those corpuscles which appear luminous can not easily be accounted for. And that there is a collection or condensation of certain corpuscles in the Aurora is very evident to me, for it sometimes entirely obscures stars of the first magnitude. On the 27th of November, the Aurora, in the eastern part of the Hemisphere, appeared, for a considerable space, of a fiery red color, and entirely obscured *Capella*, which was then about 40° above the horizon, and must therefore be much denser than the atmosphere of a Comet. It can not, I think, be imputed to generated air, as some have imagined, for that would immediately expand. And tho' dry air, at a great distance from the Earth, may be highly electrified, and continue so until it meets with some proper conductor, and air suddenly rarefied or condensed may, doubtless, give or receive the electrical fluid to or from clouds or vapors, yet I know of no experiment by which it appears that the electrical fluid generates air to any sensible degree. President Langdon supposes it may be generated air, or condensed vapor, and tells me he has seen the Aurora down below the horizon, even to the very ground; it appeared bright between him and some objects, such as trees and houses, not far distant. This, I think, could not be *Aurora Borealis*, but *Aurora quoquoversum*, as the spectator happened to be situated. And indeed this must be the case, if the Aurora is very low in the atmosphere, unless we suppose the southern sides of the corpuscles only are illuminated. The Doctor assigns electricity as the only cause, but, in attempting to account for the several Phenomena, found insuperable difficulties in the way, unless he depended upon very doubtful Hypotheses.

It appears to me the most probable that the illuminated particles are usually pretty high in the atmosphere, and perhaps much higher than is generally imagined. The Aurora of the 27th of November is mentioned in the newspapers as being prodigiously great at Lancaster, "illuminating the greatest part of the hemisphere." If it was really as extensive as this description, it must have been much greater there than it was here. For I am certain, after I saw it, which was ten minutes after 7 o'clock, it did not extend further south than the great star in Orion's shoulder, which had just risen, the two stars in Perseus' foot, the cluster in the head of Medusa, the head of Cassiopia, which was almost in the meridian, the Swan, the great star of Lyra, and so to the horizon near the head of Hercules, then setting; which did not include more two-thirds of the northern hemisphere. But I am inclined to think, as it was exceeding bright and extensive, it might be mentioned in the paper as being greater than it really was.

That the Aurora, however, may be seen at a very great distance, not only north and south, but east and west, appears to me highly probable. The remarkable Aurora seen in Europe, December 5, 1737, I am apprehensive, was seen here. Prof. Weidler says, at Wittemburg, the sky was remarkably red from 7 to 9, and gave light as bright as that of a full Moon behind a very thin cloud; the whole sky was of that color which is occasioned by a fire set at a distance in the night. It was observed in many places in Germany. At Rome it was said to exceed all, in brightness, ever known. Mr. Thos. Shot observed it at London, and says: "The western quarter was of a blood-red color, with streams of a very beautiful bright red, not running in the usual manner, but waving like vapors; the clouds were of a dark-red color; beneath a cloud from whence these streams came was a brightness superior to that of a full Moon." He could see to read in a Bible (Philos. Trans. v. 8). Several persons have told me they remember a remarkable northern light about so long ago, but have met with none that can determine the exact time. They have a notion it was the second ever seen; they say it was exceeding bright and extensive. One of my neighbors, an intelligent man, remembers it perfectly well, and describes it much as above. He says it appeared soon after sunset, was exceedingly red, the corruscations appeared like the rolling of the waves of the sea, and he could see to read; that it terrified many people as much as the great Earthquake some years before, so that some people sat up the whole night.

Were observations and experiments made as far and with as much accuracy as the nature of the Phenomena will admit, there seems to be little ground to doubt but the true cause might be investigated. It might in this way be known, which I think is not yet certain, whether it be produced by electricity, or whether it must be accounted for from very different princples. Whether, after all, the nitrous acid may not be a principal cause? This acid is perpetually exhaled in vapors, and constantly floating in the atmosphere, as appears from the experiment of exposing to the air linen soaked in lixivium of alkaline salt, which in a certain time is found to be changed into vitriolated tartar. In a state of heat and dryness it combines instantly with phlogiston, will receive, at the same instant, the heat of ignition and form a kind of nitrous phosphorus. Whether exhalations of volatile sulphurous acid may not be equally concerned, which is the least capable of concentration, and consequently will rise to the greatest height in the atmosphere? Either of these combined with phlogiston, the component corpuscles are put in an igneous state, and if phlogiston be a pure element, distinct from the electrical fluid, as it is a most active principle, may be met with in the air and produce similar phenomena. That these acids may produce such appearances is probable from the easy experiment of *Pyrophorus*, which any person may make by taking alum, which is a vitriolic salt, and to two parts add one of sugar or flour, reduce them to a powder by heat, then prepare it in a glass matrass by a 2d heat. This powder secured in a phial from the open air acquires an igneous quality, and when a small quantity is poured out in the open air it spontaneously kindles into fire, if communicated to combustible matter instantly inflames it. Whether the frequent Auroræ in the northern part of Europe, and almost incessant Aurora during the whole winter, and covering the whole hemisphere at Hudson's Bay, as related by Captain Middleton, does not seem to favor such an hypothesis?

But it is not my design to form any hypotheses. Experiments with Sir Isaac Newton were always the *criterion veritatis*, and yet we have a striking instance of the danger of trusting to hypotheses, in the mistake that great genius made, by taking it for granted, "that the heat of the sun is as the density of his rays;" and then by a number of curious experiments on the heat of dry earth, boiling water, red-hot iron, etc., found the standard of our summer heat, and having annexed the mean density of the sun's rays, seems to have constructed, upon this foundation, his general scale of heat for the solar system. But all his conclusions necessarily fail, because the main proposition can not be supported. It therefore appears to me highly necessary that some such observations and experiments as I have hinted should be made, in order to a certain solution of this striking Phenomenon, and I presume every friend to science will be ready to promote whatever may tend to such a solution. I have mentioned it to Judge Oliver, of Salem, who seems to think it the only way to come at certainty, and supposes the American Philosophical Society would have proposed something similar before this time, if this unhappy war had not prevented. The extent of North America will happily favor such observations if gentlemen of distinction in literature will promote it, and others can be found at proper distances, and at the extremes that are willing to undertake. Could the same observations and experiments be made in Europe at the same time the discoveries might be the more important.

I have taken the liberty to address this letter to you, sir, as I doubt not but you will be ready to encourage every attempt for farther inquiries and improvement in the Phenomena of nature, and when you return to College, if you think it of sufficient importance, you will be in a situation to do much in accomplishing something of this kind. I must beg you to pardon my prolixity—had no thought of running this tedious length when I sat down to write; but hope the nature of the subject, and the peculiar pleasure I take in natural science, tho' I find but little leisure to attend to it, will be some apology. I shall esteem it, if you find leisure, a particular favor to receive a line from you respecting this subject. And beg leave to subscribe.

With great respect,
Your most humble servant,
M. Cutler.

[*Dr. Stiles to M. Cutler.*]

Portsmouth, *Feb.* 2, 1778.

Reverend and Dear Sir:—Your favor of 5th ult., filled with truly philosophical learning upon the Aurora Borealis, gave me great pleasure. The solution of this Phenomenon has exercised the adepts in literature hitherto to little purpose. Our inquiries and researches, however, ought to proceed, and will probably be at length successful. I have not time more than to give you thanks for your dissertation, which is truly ingenious, and which I propose to communicate to some of my literary friends, and finally to the Amer. Philos. Society. If I can find leisure, I may hereafter submit to you some speculations of my own on the same subjects.

My respects to Mrs. Cutler.

I am, dear sir, your affectionate brother,
Ezra Stiles.

TO DR. STILES. IPSWICH, *Nov.* 29, 1782.

Reverend and Dear Sir:—Your letter of the 10th of July last I received with great pleasure. The admission of so large a class of Freshmen the last year, considering the present state of the country, is matter of agreeable surprise—a class far exceeding in numbers any that hath ever been admitted in any College on the continent in the most prosperous times. I can not but consider it a happy presage of the future importance of Yale College, when the blessings of peace shall return and new sources of opulence shall open to us at home and abroad. From the character I have heard of the gentleman you have elected Professor of Divinity, I think you must be very happy in your choice. I most ardently wish the College was furnished with a good apparatus, which I think you greatly need, and that you had a Professor of Math. and Nat. Philosophy that would do honor to himself and render essential service to the College.

We were favored with an agreeable day for observing the late transit of Mercury. Observations were made by the gentlemen at Cambridge; Mr. Payson, at Chelsea; Dr. Holyoke, at Salem, and myself. I have inclosed these observations, except Dr. Holyoke's, which can not be depended upon, as he did not ascertain the going of his clock with sufficient accuracy. You will see that our observations do no entirely agree, but I think the difference may be well accounted for, from the different magnifying powers, and goodness of our telescopes, the different modes which observers adopt in determining contacts, and the oblique direction which Mercury at this transit entered upon and passed oft the Sun's limb. With respect to my own observation, I would observe that I paid particular attention to my clock, which is a new astronomical time-piece, that I procured a few months before, constructed on a new plan, and which goes with great exactness. My corresponding double altitudes were taken by a sextant made by Nairne, with a telescope fitted to it, and a screw for adjusting the index. This instrument far exceeds Hadley's Quadrant, and perhaps is equal to any instrument that can be used for this purpose. I have likewise proved its accuracy by attending to the late conjunction of Saturn and Jupiter, and repeatedly measuring the distance of the fixed stars. In observing the transit, however, by a most unfortunate accident that befell my telescope, I missed the first external contact; the others I obtained to my own satisfaction, though there was considerable undulation in the sun's limb, at the time of the planet's going off. If you observed the transit I should be much obliged with the minutes of your observations.

I had the honor of nominating Governor Trumbull to be a Fellow of the American Academy, who was elected by the unanimous suffrages of the Fellows then present. But it has been repeatedly mentioned to me by the Corresponding Secretary, that he has taken no notice of the official letter he wrote him informing him of his election. It would be a satisfaction to me to know whether he received the letter or not.

I am, sir,
With sentiments of great esteem and respect,
Your most obedient, humble servant, M. CUTLER.

[*Dr. Stiles to M. Cutler.*]

YALE COLLEGE, *April* 21, 1783.

Reverend and Dear Sir:—I intended you a long letter by this oppo. in answer to your very agreeable favor last winter, but the fates, or rather, incessant labors, forbid it at present. I wrote to Governor Trumbull, and inclose his answer, for I have not time to extract.

The Auroral Corruscations from the E. W. and Northern Heavens commenced in a center here 12° So. of the Zenith at VIII h. 10′ in a line from the two *s in the head of Gemini to Cor Leonis—on the evening of 29th ultimo. Had it been at the summit of the atmosphere, it must have appeared 45° So. of the Vertex, 50 miles N. of New Haven; and yet Rev. Mr. Atwater, at Westfield, 50 miles No., observed it at VIII h. 12′ very nearly in the same place, and not So. of Cor Leonis.

Please inform me how it was with you.

In utmost haste, I am, dear sir,
Your affectionate brother and humble servant,
EZRA STILES.

I refer you to young Mr. Langdon for College Affairs.

To Rev. Dr. Stiles. Ipswich, *June* 13, 1783.

Reverend Sir:—I have had the honor of receiving your kind letter of the 21st of April, but had not the pleasure of seeing the young Gentleman who brought it. I am particularly obliged by the minutes you gave me of the Aurora Borealis, and I am happy to find that I saw the Aurora you mention of the 29th of March. I have only time to give you an extract of the minutes which I then made, and am sorry they are not more particular as to the height.

At 8 h. 4′, observed a curious Aur. Borealis. The whole northern hemisphere was of a pale light, having several detached ranges of thin, narrow, dusky clouds stretched across it, from the horizon to 45° altitude, a little above and parallel to the horizon, with the appearance of lamps, or pale torches, interspersed throughout the lower Nn. region, continually changing their situation and emitting converging corruscations toward the zenith. But the most singular circumstance in this phenomenon was the waving, tremulous, or rather flashing vapor, streaming from every direction toward the zenith. This vapor was of a bright color, without any tincture of red, and striated with very fine striæ. At 15′ after 8 h., it extended as far as E.S.E. and W.S.W., near the horizon, forming a zone 22° S. of the zenith composed of transverse striæ directed toward the zenith, and nearly meeting a little to the S.E. of it, forming a kind of vertex in the neck of Leo Major. At times the center was nearly in the dusky star in Cancer, often changing its form and situation, with a quick waving motion. But at times the luminous vapor was more stationary. It then assumed the appearance of a white cloud of a uniform density, composed of fine striæ curiously turned round its head and indentation, considerably obscuring stars of the first magnitude—a very rare fluid continually waving or flashing over the striated vapor, nearly resembling the tremulous motion of a flame in a clear and steady fire on the hearth, but without any of the red appearance. At 9 o'clock the light vapor formed a large and dense cloud spread almost over the western hemisphere, and passing the meridian east near the zenith; at 10, much diminished, wind W., and small; at 11, N.W., and fresh. There were many small detached clouds W. and S. of the zenith—the light appeared at a distance above those clouds. At 10, the mercury ranged, in Fahrenheit's Therm., 53; Barometer, 29.72. These are the minutes I made at that time.

A very unusual Aur. Borealis appeared here on the evening of the 7th of April, which I fear you did not notice, as you make no mention of it. I paid more particular attention to this, than the Aurora of the 29th of March, as it afforded a much better opportunity for ascertaining its situation. As it was probably seen not far distant from you, shall give you the minutes I made of part of the phenomenon. At 8 h. 46′, when I first saw it, a bright zone, which extended across the horizon from E. to W. at little north of the zenith, was making its progress, with an apparent motion, to the south. It soon passed the zenith, and continued its motion uniformly, from end to end, preserving its position as to E. and W. points, 36° 20′ S. of the zenith. At 9 h. 2′, began to dissipate, or rather disappear, becoming less and less luminous, till no traces were to be seen. The zone was of a pale light color, but considerably dense and bright, and not of perfectly uniform breadth. Upon measuring its breadth with a sextant (which I could do with great accuracy) at different times, and in different parts, found the mean 16° 10′. Its greatest distance from the zenith was determined by the same instrument, with the assistance of my globe. Another zone appeared in the N. at 9 h. 14′, similar in every circumstance, only that it was much fainter, and but 12° 15′ broad. It passed only 5° 40′ S. of the zenith, when it disappeared. Wind N.W., small. My present engagements are such, I have not time to make any remarks.

I am, Rev'd Sir, with the greatest esteem,

Your most obd't and most H. S.,

M. CUTLER.

REVEREND PRESIDENT STILES.

[*For the American Academy of Arts and Sciences.*]

IPSWICH, *Feb.* 14, 1783.

TO PROF. EDWARD WIGGLESWORTH.*

Reverend Sir:—Want of leisure, and knowing that you were in a low state of health, has prevented my answering your request so soon as I should otherwise have done. I now send you the number of houses, families, males and females, married persons, unmarried males and females above 15, widowers, widows, males and females under 15, males and females between 50 and 60, 60 and 70, 70 and 80, and upward of 80, in this small parish, as they stood on the first day of this year. I have taken considerable pains to make this enumeration as accurate as possible, and have included white and black servants, and blacks who live in families by themselves.

While I was making this enumeration, I attempted to procure further information on this subject from the deliberate recollection of each particular family; but the frequent emigrations into back settlements, and interchanging of families with neighboring parishes, prevented my obtaining, with certainty, any thing material, except that sixty years ago the number of houses rather exceeded the present number, and that of the inhabitants must have been nearly the same.

The former account I sent you of births and deaths was not made out for complete years, and did not come down so late as the time of enumerating the inhabitants. I have therefore inclosed a table of births and deaths from the first day of January, 1772, to the first day of January, 1783, including eleven years. And also a table of diseases for the same time, in which you will see, under each year, the disease of which every person, between the same periods of life noted in the Table of Mortality, was supposed to die. I have no doubt but there may be errors in this table, but I presume there are none that are very considerable. It has been my practice to minute the disorder that each person was said to die of, in my register of deaths, with no other view than to satisfy my own curiosity, and have not done it with that care and attention that the importance of such a register now appears to me to demand. The principal errors, I suspect, are in the diseases of children, who are incapable of describing their feelings, and the symptoms of particular diseases do not appear so distinct in them as in adults, and in the article of consumption, by which Physicians intend a disorder of the lungs, and of which they make several species; but every disorder that is attended with a wasting of the muscular flesh, though by no means pulmonic, is generally termed a consumption.

---

* Edward Wigglesworth was born in 1732. Graduated at Harvard, 1749. Was Hollis Professor of Theology from 1765 until his death, in 1794. He was one of the founders of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences.—*The Memorial History of Boston.*

The reason that the number of inhabitants has not increased in this parish for sixty years past, when the births for the last eleven years are more than double the number of deaths, is wholly owing to emigrations into new settlements. By the former register kept in this parish, it appears that the rate of births and deaths for sixty years has been nearly the same with the last eleven. The inhabitants have not been very subject to epidemic diseases, or those which are generally more rife at particular seasons of the year. The situation of the parish approaches to a level, interspersed with small hills, and some quantity of low meadow and swampy land, four miles from the sea. The people, who are almost all farmers, are laborious and temperate; the water exceeding good, and the air generally very free and pure. Hence, you will see that calculations on American population can not be made from our old settlements. We not only lose the excess of annual births above annual deaths, by emigration, but those adventurers consist chiefly of the young, healthy and robust, on whom population principally depends, while the aged and invalids remain in their old habitations. The new settlements must, therefore, greatly exceed the old in the increase of population, in proportion to the number of inhabitants.

It is obvious that many important questions in civil society, respecting the annuities of widows and persons in old age, reversionary payments, and several other matters, can be determined only by a knowledge of the expectation of human life in various places, and this knowledge can be obtained only from registers of mortality in those places. But I apprehend that information of still greater consequence may be derived from faithful and minute registers of the various diseases most fatal to mankind at different ages, and in different situations, accompanying these registers of mortality. Various causes have influence in bringing on diseases and shortening the duration of life, such as particular employments, irregularities, and intemperance in living, and a careless inattention to sudden vicissitudes of heat and cold and changes in the atmosphere common to every situation, but I doubt not it may be made to appear that the influence of different airs and different situations on the human constitution, and the probability of living longer, especially in the early part of life, in one place than in another, is vastly greater than is generally imagined. Few are aware of the danger arising from unwholesome air, and the constant use of water impregnated with foreign bodies, frequently met with in particular situations, and which are very common causes of diseases. Neither air nor water are often so replenished with noxious qualities as to produce such immediate violent effects as to put people on their guard against them. But their less perceptible influence may render them more generally hurtful to mankind.

An ingenious writer, Dr. Alexander, has indeed called in question the baneful effects of vapor arising from stagnant waters, and affirmed that nothing is to be apprehended from the neighborhood of putrid marshes. But Dr. Priestly has proved, by repeated experiments, that this opinion is ill-founded and dangerous, and that putrid water is in an high degree noxious. And Dr. Price has found the assertions of Dr. Priestly to be fully confirmed, by comparing tables exhibiting the rates of mortality in upward of eighty small country parishes in Switzerland, in all the different situations, from marshy ground to that of the Alps. The difference of the probability of life between the high and low land is very remarkable. In the mountains, one-half that are born live to the age of 47. In marshy ground, one-half live only to the age of 25. In the hills, one in 20 of all that are born, live to 80. In a marshy situation, only one in 52 reaches this age.

The cold springs that usually surround the edges of fenny, swampy land, as well as putrid exhalations, render particular situations very unhealthy, from the changes they produce in the air, occasioning, in the night, cold damps and close, heavy fogs, especially after a sultry day. This cold, damp air most sensibly affects our feelings, if we descend in the night-time from high, clear land to the springy borders of open swamps and meadows. The sickly state of several families who have lived in a certain house in this place appears to me a striking demonstration of the baneful effects of cold springs and putrid exhalations. Since this house has been inhabited, which is upward of sixty years, it has been observed that there has been no considerable space of time that all the family have been in health. For a considerable number of years, which the present owner lived in it, some of the family were almost continually complaining or confined with acute or chronic disorders, but, removing with his family, ten or fifteen years ago, near the sea, they soon recovered, and have since enjoyed very good health. Two young, healthy families have since occupied it in succession, but were soon affected with similar disorders, which were principally of the throat, breast, and viscera. The situation of the house very evidently points out the cause of the remarkable unhealthiness of its inhabitants. It stands on the north side and very near the foot of a considerably high hill, nearly covered on the top and north part with tall wood, the northern declivity moist and springy. North and west of the house is a small plain of forty or fifty yards extent, bounded by low, springy, and swampy land. On the east a low swamp extends from very near the house to a pond of stagnant water, at a small distance. The current of air in the lowland is much obstructed and confined by the neighboring hills and woodland.

But the surprising effects which a luxuriant vegetation may produce on putrid and noxious air may contribute much in rendering particular situations the more healthy. The quantity of moist exhalations may indeed be increased, but, if the free passage of the air be not obstructed, the situation may become more wholesome. Dr. Priestly, you are sensible, has proved, by a number of experiments, that air rendered noxious by the breath of animals, or by putrefaction, is restored, by vegetables growing in it, to a state fit for respiration, and the support of animal life. This discovery may be improved, both for the continuance and restoration of health. And vegetation may be one, if not the principal cause, which renders spring and summer so much more healthy than autumn and winter. In the course of the last eleven years, with us, by far the greater part that have died of acute, inflammatory, or putrid diseases have died between the first of August and the last of February. And in those years, when any disorder was epidemic, which has not been often, it has been in the course of those months. More of those, indeed, who died of a pulmonic consumption, which has been the most fatal disease with us, expired in the months of April and June than in any of the other months in the year.

It certainly must be a discovery of very great importance to know in what periods of life we are in the greatest danger of an attack from particular diseases and from what causes they originate. The investigation of such a matter will doubtless be attended with difficulty, but such advantages may be derived from it that the smallest prospect of success will justify the attempt. Very little can be expected from observations made in one or two small parishes, but it appears to me, beyond all doubt, that in our country towns much greater numbers of people die of consumption between the ages of 10 and 60 than of any other disorder. In this parish near one-half that have died between those ages died of consumptions. The cause and the treatment of this disease, which proves fatal to such great numbers in the period of life when all the powers and faculties of body and mind are in the most vigorous state, highly concern both the Patient and Physician, and call for the most critical attention. Were faithful registers of mortality and diseases, for some considerable space of time, collected from the several towns in this Commonwealth, with other collateral information respecting the situation, air, water, and employment of the inhabitants, they might afford very important instruction, and lead to many useful inquiries and discoveries. It would evidently appear what situations are the most healthy, what diseases are most prevalent in different places and at what different periods of life, and the difference of expectation of life in one place compared with another. But the establishment of such registers can never be expected, unless the Legislature should think it an object worthy their attention.

If little is to be immediately expected from such registers while we are in an infant state, and none of our towns crowded with inhabitants, yet, from a consideration of the increasing popularity of this Country, the probability that in time we may have many populous manufacturing towns, it is obvious that a very early establishment of them may become of great utility and importance.

I hope, however, you will receive such information from different parts of the country as to be able to proceed in your present plan. Dr. Holyoke informed me, a few days ago, that he was preparing an account of births, deaths, and diseases in the town of Salem for the last year, which he proposes to communicate to the American Academy, and which, we are certain, will be done with great accuracy. It is to be wished that medical gentlemen, in general, would attend to this matter, as they alone are able to give us just accounts of diseases.

I am, sir, with much esteem,

Your very humble servant,

M. CUTLER.

[*To General Lincoln, Secretary of War.*]

IPSWICH, *May* 18, 1783.

Sir:—The several Committees, appointed by the American Academy at their last meeting, met at Cambridge, on the 25th of last March. Upon examining the papers on file, they were happy to find a greater number that may be worthy of publication than was expected, and proceeded to agree on a number of articles, which I have the honor of communicating to you.

The greater part of the communications on file belong to our department, and Mr. Parsons agrees with me in opinion that many of them can not fail of meeting the approbation of the public. But as the literary character of this State abroad is greatly concerned in the first publication of the American Academy, papers for this volume ought to be selected with the utmost care and attention. Our greatest deficiency seems to be in essays upon observations and experiments on the natural productions of this Country. Improvements in the various branches of Agriculture, and those useful arts which will advance our internal wealth and the happiness of our citizens, will be of greater public utility than matters of mere science, and ought, doubtless, to be the first objects of our attention.

We have a report that a gentleman in Philadelphia has discovered a vegetable production that effectually cures cancers, which have long been the opprobrium of the medical art, and that this remedy has received the approbation of the physicians of the first character in that city. If this be fact, and a description of the plant can be obtained, though the method of preparing and applying it in this particular case should be kept a secret, it may prove a valuable acquisition. Botanical descriptions, likewise, of any rare or valuable vegetable productions, will be considered of importance.

Your letter, with the sentiments of your friend on the growth of plants, communicated by the Hon. General Warren, affords me great pleasure. The principles of vegetation seem still to remain among the arcana of science, but hypotheses that can be supported by observation and experiment may lead us to a more certain knowledge of the operations of nature in the vegetable kingdom than has ever yet been ascertained. I could wish we might be favored with further communications from that very ingenious gentleman. I should consider it a favor, if there be no impropriety, to be informed of his name and place of abode.

Such communications as you shall judge of importance, I doubt not, you will readily make, before the collection for this volume is closed.

I have the honor to be, with sentiments of the highest esteem, sir,

Your most obedient and humble servant,

M. Cutler.

Hon. Benj. Lincoln, Esq.

P. S.—I am desired to ask the favor of you to inform me whether the Philosophical Society at Philadelpha propose soon to publish another Volume of Transactions.

[*From General Lincoln.*]

PHILADELPHIA, *June* 12, 1783.

Reverend Sir:—I have been honored with the receipt of your favor of the 18th ult. I should have had the pleasure of answering it before, had I not been prevented by an absence from the city.

I am fully in opinion with you that the literary character of the State of Massachusetts abroad will be greatly concerned in the first publication of the American Academy, and that papers for this volume ought to be selected with the utmost care and attention. I wish, therefore, a greater length of time had been given for the collection of facts and the arrange- of them before we entered seriously on a publication. I think this might have been done without incurring even a suspicion of inattention, or the least want of that spirit of research from which alone great discoveries may be expected, as we have, from the establishment of the Society, been involved in a war destructive of that repose essential to those useful investigations, the promotion of which was the laudable design of the institution.

I find, by the articles agreed on the 25th March, that the committees are to examine the several communications belonging to their respective departments, and select therefrom such as they may approve of for publication.

The task assigned the committee is arduous. I feel the embarrassments I should be under in executing the trust, were I placed in their situation, and although I might enter on the business with good intentions, yet I should be disposed to swell the volume, lest a too partial publication should discourage people from making further communications, as they might feel themselves hurt by the omission; and I might also be led to it by considering in too favorable a light the communications of those gentlemen whose characters I greatly revere, and for whom I have contracted the highest esteem and affection.

I have seen Dr. Martin, the gentleman who has discovered the vegetable production which effectually cures cancers. He says that at present he can not, in justice to himself, communicate his knowledge in this matter. I think it will not be obtained, unless the States should think the discovery so essential to the good and happiness of mankind as to be induced thereby to offer him a sum of money for it which would make it unnecessary for him longer to attend to business. This, probably, and this only, I suppose, would draw it from him. I wish the public would take up the matter, for it can not be doubted but that his knowledge herein is important.

I am informed that the Philosophical Society here are preparing to publish another volume.

Mr. Matlock, the late Secretary of this State, was the author of those observations on the principles of vegetation which, through General Warren, I communicated to the Academy. This gentleman is absent. I can not, therefore, now obtain any further information from him.

The question which has been so long and so often agitated, whether the plant is fed from the atmosphere or earth, or whether it receives its nourishment solely from the one or the other, or whether jointly from both, is yet involved in doubt and uncertainty, and perhaps it will so continue, and prove to be one of those subjects of inquiry in which we may not find the most explicit and direct evidence by which we may at once determine on which side the truth lies. But, as it is of importance to ascertain the principles of vegetation as fully as possible, we may with propriety have recourse to the various circumstances which offer themselves to our consideration, which, being collected, and the whole contrasted, may, and probably will, leave the mind at last pretty fully, if not perfectly, satisfied.

Under these ideas of the matter I will offer to your consideration a circumstance which I think will operate in support of the opinion that the plant is fed from the atmosphere rather than from the earth. Though of itself it may prove little, yet, with others, it will have its weight and be important.

A writer in recording his travels through South America says: "That in the forest grows a tree called properly Malapole, *i. e.*, hill timber. It is of itself a weak tree, but growing near another of considerable bulk, and coming into contact with it, when expanding its branches, it deprives its neighbor of the rays of the sun. Nor is this all, for as this imbibes the juices of the earth the other withers and dies."

I have not a doubt that trees thus embraced will wither and die, but I think the Historian has formed a wrong opinion respecting the causes of their decease. He attributes them to two, viz., their being masked from the rays of the sun, and being deprived of the necessary juices of the earth, neither of which, I think, are the true ones.

If we admit that the trees are fed from the earth we can hardly suppose that one tree shall possess such powerful imbibing qualities as to deprive the other tree, natural to the soil, of all support, or that the earth can, in process of time, have become so partial to the one and forgetful of the other of her productions.

With respect to the other cause the author assigns for the decease of the tree, that appears to me to have less weight in it than the former, for it has been found by long experience that a plant will flourish and a tree grow vigorously in the shade, secluded from the sun, while there is no other curtain than the sky spread over it. I think, on the whole, that, with more truth, we may attribute the cause of the decease of the tree to its being deprived of its food, which it would have received from the atmosphere, were it not denied this blessing by the branches of its domineering neighbor, than to those assigned by the Historian.

I have to lament that the official duties which I owe the public, and which I must perform, prevent my paying that attention to the American Academy, which inclination would otherwise prompt me to do.

The stone herewith sent was found on the beach of the North River (or Hudson) near Newburgh.

I have the honor to be,
Reverend sir,
With great esteem,
Your obedient servant,

REVEREND MR. CUTLER. B. LINCOLN.

CHAPTER XIX.

CORRESPONDENCE WITH DR. BELKNAP.

[*To Dr. Belknap.*]

IPSWICH, *Aug.* 9, 1784.

My Dear Friend:—I have been honored with your letter of the 6th inst. by the hand of Mr. Parker, and feel myself under particular obligations to you for introducing me to an acquaintance with that gentleman. I was much pleased with him the little time he spent with me, and hope this may be an introduction to a further acquaintance.

It was not in my power to make any calculations on the observations we made at the White Mountains early enough for the last post. I have since gone over my minutes. I find the quicksilver in the barometer ranged below at 27.99 inches, in 46° of heat by the thermometer. At the top it ranged at 21.80 inches in 44° of heat by the thermometer. These ranges will give the height of the mountains 10,001.6 feet above the level of the sea, and 6513.1 above our tent at the foot of the mountain. The tent 3488.5 feet above the level of the sea. But as I perceived at the top of the mountain that some particles of quicksilver had, by some means, exuded through the leather of the reservoir, and some air bubbles intruded into the tube after the screw was turned down, I made a deduction of $\frac{80}{100}$ from the difference of the upper and lower range of the mercury. The upper range of the mercury will then be 22.60 inches, and give the height of the mountain 9062.5 feet above the sea, and 5614 feet above the tent. In this deduction, I must confess, I have no accurate rule for ascertaining it. In screwing up the reservoir at the top of the mountain, I found the quicksilver did not entirely fill up the tube. I then measured the quantity of this defect, and made it the ground of this deduction, which I think is as great as it ought, by any means, to be. I then hoped, after our return, to have made further observations on the barometer which would enable me to determine this defect with more certainty, but found that the reservoir, in returning, was so injured as to leak out the most of the quicksilver. As the ill-fate of our barometer has prevented an accurate mensuration of the heights of the mountains, I call the height, in round numbers, 9,000 feet above the level of the sea, 5,500 feet above our tent, and the tent 3,500 feet above the sea. These numbers can not be far from the truth, unless there was a much greater defect in the barometer than I have now the least suspicion. It is, however, no small mortification to me not to be able to give a more accurate account of the height of this mountain, after taking so much pains to ascertain it.

In my geometrical observations at the meadow for ascertaining the height of the first summit, I find my base so short as not to subtend angle at the mountain sufficient for determining the height with any degree of certainty, especially as the observations were made in so hasty a manner, and not repeated, and the top of the mountain viewed through so much of a cloud as must occasion a deception in the appearance of its altitude. If any dependence can be made on this measure, it will make the height of the Sugar-loaf above the plain as much as 500 feet. I am now fully persuaded, though we called it but 150, that it is not less than 300 feet. I was led to this opinion by observing an height at Cabot's farm, which was found by mensuration to be upward of an hundred feet, which we all judged, that were on the mountain, could not be more than one-fifth part of the height of the Sugar-loaf.

If we are not greatly mistaken in the height of the White Mountain, it must be placed in no inconsiderable rank among the highest mountains on the globe. I can find an account of only four that are higher. The only mountains of which I can find an account of their height in any author I have by me, are: Andes, 20,280; Peak of Teneriffe, 13,178; Gammi, 10,110; The Pyrenees, 6,640; the four most elevated points the Alps, viz., Mole., 4,882; Dole, 4,292; Buel, 8,893, and Mt. Blanc, 14,432.

I wish to hear how you feel after your tour. It is not yet entirely out of my bones, but I find myself in a good way. . . . Your most humble servant,

M. CUTLER.

P. S.— . . . My minutes of the sun's altitude at the west notch of the mountain I have mislaid, or lost, and can not at present find it. I find the degree of cold at the pinnacle by the thermometer corresponds nearly with the mean degree in Nov. and March with us.

IPSWICH, *Jan.* 5, 1785.

REV. MR. BELKNAP.

Dear Sir:—I had not the pleasure of receiving yours of the 26th of Nov. until the 20th Dec., and no opportunity has presented for returning you an earlier answer. I am exceedingly gratified by your repeated accounts of the several appearances of the White Mountains and the state of the weather with you at the same time. I imagined the mountain would have been clothed in its white coat much earlier than the first of November. But the unusual mildness of the atmosphere during the fall months, and the frequent S. W. and Westerly winds, which were predominant with us, might prevent the fall of so great depth of snow on the mountain as not to melt sooner in the year. I shall be much obliged to you and Brother Haven for further accounts.

The barometer and thermometer I expected from London are arrived, and I have had the good fortune to get them home safe. They were made by Nairne & Blunt, and appear to be excellent instruments, but I am sorry to find that neither of them are properly portable ones. The thermometer is a very long tube, graduated 50° below 0, and 212 above.

Our good brother, Mr. Little, has been so kind as to spend the last Sabbath with me in his way to Boston, who I expect on his return will forward this letter to you. Pray, write me by the first opportunity. I wish to know if you have heard any thing from Brother Balch. We have not so much as heard whether he is dead or alive.

I am, dear sir, with the highest respect,

Your most obedient, humble servant,

M. CUTLER.

Jan. 14, 1785.

Brother Little has greatly disappointed me. He returned from Boston much sooner than he proposed, and called when I was from home, which has prevented my sending this letter by him. Since his return I have been honored with a letter from you and the copper ore from our friend, Mr. Place, forwarded by Mr. James Sheafe. I have not had time to do any thing with respect to the ore, but will pay every attention to it in my power as soon as possible, and send you such information as I may obtain. I have been so extremely busy since I received your letter that I have not had time to calculate the age of the moon, agreeable to your request, but shall be at leisure in two or three days, when I shall take care to do it, and embrace the first opportunity to acquaint you with it.

If you have obtained any information from Mr. Whipple respecting the mountain after we left him, I shall be much favored by receiving it.

I am, sir, most affectionately, yours,
M. Cutler.

Jan. 17. Missing of the opportunity by which I expected to have sent this letter last week, I have been able to calculate the moon's age, agreeable to your desire. It was new moon on the first day of May, O. S. 1725, at 10 h. 15 m. 52″ in the morning.* The moon set in the night of the 8th, about 40 minutes after one o'clock. The time of its setting, however, I did not accurately calculate, presuming it was unnecessary for your purpose.

[*From Dr. Belknap.*]

Rev. M. Cutler. Dover, *Jan.* 25, 1785.

Dear Sir:—Yours of the 5th, 14th, and 17th inst. arrived this day, for which I thank you, particularly for your attention to my request about the setting of the moon on the day of Lovewell's battle. The account is, that they fought till midnight, when the Indians withdrew and gave them an opening to retreat, which they did, two hours before day. I was anxious to be ascertained of the moon's age, that the circumstance of fighting so late might be credible.

---

* The date of the battle of Lovewell's Pond.

I had, the other day, a few minutes' conversation with Mr. Whipple. He mentioned receiving your letter about two months after its date, and inquired very kindly about you. How should you feel to be assured that the Mountain you were upon was not the highest? The doubt was first started by Captain Heath, of Conway, the day I parted with you there, and he and our pilot, Evans, had a smart controversy on the subject. I forget whether I told you this, for I did not give much heed to Heath's suspicion; but the sedate, observant, and critical eye of our friend Whipple has been busy about the Mountains ever since, and he doubts! He is suspicious that the highest peak is westward of that you ascended, and is determined to make another attempt. I mentioned this to our companion, the faithful and indefatigable Wingate * (who was so kind as to call and dine with me last week), and he joins in the suspicion. He thinks the highest summit is farther westward than where you ascended. The New River is by all pitched upon as the place where the next ascent ought to be made. By the way, I will not omit one circumstance. Mrs. B. had never seen Wingate before, but concluded he was (to use her own expression) "a White Hill man," by his manner of entering the door. She had, a day or two before, heard Mr. Little remark that "we" (meaning our company in that tour) "were all married for life;" and I suppose there was an air of familiarity and satisfaction in Wingate that gave her the idea.

Mr. Whipple informed me that the freshet on the 4th of December was the highest ever known in those parts. His fields and meadows were deluged, his fences broken down, his

---

* Paine Wingate was born in Amesbury, Massachusetts, 1739; graduated, Harvard, 1759. He preached at Hampton Falls, New Hampshire, from 1763 to 1771, when he abandoned the pulpit and commenced the practice of law. He was member of Congress in 1787 and from 1793 to 1795; United States Senator from New Hampshire, 1789 to 1793; Judge of Superior Court, 1798 to 1809. He died at Stratham, New Hampshire, 1836. His wife was the sister of Timothy Pickering. She died in 1843, aged 100 years.

mills damaged, and the water rose as far as his well, within 40 feet of the house. At Conway, the river was six feet perpendicular higher than in the great freshet of October, 1775, when the New River broke out. The bridge and mill just above McMillan's was carried off; also a bridge over Swift River, which had been built since our journey. This is, by an uncommon exertion, already rebuilt, six feet higher than before. The new road at the Notch is greatly damaged. Possibly, whoever goes up the Shelburne road next summer may perceive some alterations since last July. That whole region must, from its nature, be subject to frequent changes by floods.

I am sorry your new barometer is not portable. Can you furnish yourself with those that are against another season? Mr. Whipple says an attempt will not be practicable till about the 25th of June. It would certainly be best before dog-days. If we could be assured of so mild an autumn as the last, September would do; but the year before it was impracticable the first week in September. I must give the preference to June, on account of the length of days and shortness of nights, and I think the weather is as well settled then as any month. But my opinion is of no consequence. Two hundredweight of mortality, and a pair of lungs by no means related to the *adamantine ones*, which Pope was laughed at so much about, are very inconvenient in the ascending line, unless an aerostatic machine could be contrived, and even then I suspect my brain would be giddy with the sudden elevation. It is a discouraging circumstance to my making a second attempt.

Your care of my books is very kind. The sale is everywhere slow, and unless something more auspicious turns up, I shall not think it prudent to risk another volume. . . . Brother Balch and his family were all well last week. I mentioned to him a circumstance related to me by an old man of this town, now deceased, viz., that he had formerly, when Barrington was in its wilderness state, found native *Alum* there. After the settlements were made, he lost his landmarks, and was not able to find the spot. Possibly, the knowledge may be recovered. I have desired Mr. Balch to be particular in his inquiries.

I forget whether I showed you the red earth that I found in Somersworth. Mr. Little examined it, and pronounced it equal to the best Spanish brown. There is a yellow stratum underneath it.

I shall close this letter with an extract from a letter of my friend Mr. Hazard, of Philadelphia, November 6th: "At the meeting [*i. e.*, of the Philos. Society] last night, I proposed Mr. Cutler for a member, and he will be balloted for at the next election." In another, of December 18th: "The election of members comes on about the middle of next month. You shall have notice if Mr. C. is elected." You must know that, when I sent an account of our Tour to this good gentleman, which he laid before the Society, he was so pleased with the mention I made of you as to do the same honor to you he had before done to one much less worthy.

My respects to Mrs. Cutler, and to Dr. Fisher, when you see him. Does he intend to try another shower-bath in the woods? 'T is a specific.

I am, dear sir, with much esteem,
Your obliged friend and brother,
JERE BELKNAP.

Do tell me whether the Tree-toad is peculiar to America? I observe Goldsmith has not mentioned it.

You must forgive my asking you questions. It is a trick I am very subject to when I am conversing with or writing to persons who know more than myself.

What are we to believe about animal magnetism?

[*To Rev. Dr. Belknap.*]

IPSWICH, *Feb.* 28, 1785.

Dear Sir:—Your obliging letter of the 25th January came to hand last Tuesday evening, and that of the 21st inst., the next morning; for both of which I most heartily thank you. Storms and snow-banks have laid such an embargo on sociability with us, that the correspondence of an affectionate friend is enjoyed with the highest relish. Traveling has not been so difficult here for many years. We see nobody, and do little else than sit in the chimney-corner, repeating over the same dull stories, or gawking at one another with sorry grimace. Your letters were received with avidity, and your account of Mrs. B.'s quick discovery of White Hill people, by their singular airs, has distorted my risibles and given my sides a hearty shake. Woods and mountains, it seems, may form people's manners, as well as assemblies and dancing-schools. What curious courtesies and compliments we should have, from a company of ladies, after a tour through those dreary regions!

I still feel pretty firm in the belief that we were on the highest summit, but I do not mean to be obstinate. We were so soon enveloped in the cloud, after we gained the summit of the Sugar-loaf, that there was little time to observe what was about us. I certainly thought myself then so highly elevated that I looked down upon every terrestrial object within the reach of my eye; but it might, like many other elevated fancies, exist only in the imagination. I must confess that my observations on that day were so imperfect and confused, that I am almost ashamed to say any thing about them. Another tour, I hope, will remove many of our present doubts and uncertainties.

From the account you give me of the extraordinary freshet on the 4th December, I suspect some very considerable effect may have been produced by it, on and about the mountains, which may render another expedition the more entertaining. It is a favorable circumstance to have so judicious and accurate an observer as Mr. Whipple so near them. His attention is doubtless the more excited by what has been already done, and I think much may be expected from him in rendering another tour more successful.

There will be no difficulty, I presume, in procuring barometers and thermometers properly constructed for the purpose. There are two barometers and thermometers in Cape Ann, exactly alike, which I am informed may be obtained. I am now constructing an electrometer, on a new plan, which will make a necessary part of our apparatus. I should, likewise, wish to make some experiments with a thermometer in boiling water, at proper distances from the foot to the top of the mountain, for ascertaining the range of mercury in different densities, and with a degree of heat that will just make water boil. I agree with you, that June will be preferable to July, but I feel some discouragement about making the attempt at all. This cold snowy winter has considerably cooled my zeal, but when I get thawed out, in the spring, perhaps it may return.

I do not recollect your showing me the red earth from Somersworth. I wish the various fossils that abound in that neighborhood could be explored, and their nature and uses ascertained. A part of the ore which our friend Place sent me, is gone to London. Mr. Davenport, of Salem, a watchmaker from England, has sent it to a relation of his, who, he says, is one of the Assay-masters in the Tower; that he will analyze it, and that we may depend on an accurate account of the different fossils it contains, and their proportions, by which an estimate of its value may be made. Another part of the ore I put into the hands of an ingenious gunsmith in this town, who is considerably acquainted with ores, and wished to make some experiments upon it, but I have not seen him since.

I was much pleased that the American Academy were able to form a quorum for elections at their last meeting (it requiring a greater number of members for that than any other business), and that you were elected a member by a full vote. The gentlemen whose names you saw in the paper were all eligible in November, but there were not members enough present for a quorum. You have, or will soon receive, an official letter from the Corresponding Secretary, announcing your election.

Your letter of the 25th January unfolded an enigmatical article in the Salem paper, which I had received a few hours before your letter came to hand. I was by no means able to conceive how it could happen that my name should be mentioned among the elections of the Philosophical Society at Philadelphia. I am highly indebted to you for the obliging manner in which you mentioned me to Mr. Hazard, and for the honor conferred by the Philosophical Society. I also feel my obligations to Mr. Hazard for the active part he has taken in seconding your wishes. This act of friendship has been received with greater pleasure, as the thought had never entered my mind. But, unluckily for me, honors of this kind, like civil and military preferments, become real honors only where there is a capacity of honoring them. The obligations, however, to those who procure, or bestow them, are not at all lessened by the unworthiness of the person on whom they are conferred.

Your bill of mortality is selected for publication, and is now in my hands. I think it is sufficiently particular for the purpose for which it will be published. If you wish, however, to make any additions, I can send it to you, though the time will be short before the printers will want it, as they have already made considerable progress in their work.

Dr. Hill says the tree-toad, or tree-frog, as he calls it, is peculiar to North America, and to some few places in the North of Europe. His description, I suppose, was taken from those in Europe, and does not well agree with the animal we call by that name. Catesby mentions a green tree-frog in the Southern States, which, he says, "sings in the night, chit, chit, chit." I suspect this animal to be quite different from our tree-toad. I have seen so few writers on Zoology, that I am unable to say whether our tree-toad has been described, but I very much doubt it.

Nothing has been published on Animal Magnetism that I have heard of. I have been an unbeliever, but some late experiments have converted me. I now believe, at least, that there is a certain *somewhat*, which produced a rotary motion in a sword. I have very often felt the motion so powerful as almost sufficient to remove the guard from off the end of my fingers, and that some degree of resistance would not prevent its turning. I have thought that, after the same person has continued the experiment with little intermission for a considerable length of time, the effects became more evident, and have fancied that I felt something, like a very gentle breath of air, on the back of my fingers and hand next the sword. The same effect may be produced with a shovel, or tongs, but in a much less degree. The same sword, suspended by two threads, with the fingers very near but not in contact with the sword, will not produce any effect. Bars of iron, steel, and steel highly magnetic, supported horizontally, produce no effect. Some experiments upon glass have puzzled me, but I mean to make further trials. The sword I have used has a large silver guard, and when supported by the rim, the fingers are at some distance from the blade. What effect has magnetism on silver? Why is it called magnetism? Why not electricity? Or why is it called either? I am totally ignorant of the matter. Pray be so kind as to enlighten me.

I have tired you with my long letter. I can not see you, and you must indulge me the pleasure of writing, and as much as my paper will admit. Dr. Fisher desires his most respectful compliments to you. He says he still feels the good effects of the shower-bath, but does not know but it may be best to repeat it next summer. He retains his White Mountain airs, and even our good friend Mr. Heard is strongly tinctured with them.

Mrs. Cutler joins me in kind regards to your lady and family. I am, with much affection and esteem,

Dear Sir, your most obedient, humble servant.

M. Cutler.

[*To Rev. Dr. Belknap.*]

Ipswich, *April* 11, 1785.

Rev. and Dear Sir:—Since I wrote you last, I have had the pleasure of receiving two letters from you—one of March 1st, the other, the 26th. My obligations to you are greatly increased by your kind care to give me the earliest notice of the late vote of the Philosophical Society, at Philadelphia. When I receive official information from the Secretary, I shall not fail of acknowledging the high sense I have of the honor conferred, and particularly to express my obligation to Mr. Hazard, who, in compliance with your friendly request, has interested himself in this matter.

The distance, which you tell me our mountains are seen north-westward, much exceeds what I should have apprehended, and increases my desire for another visit. I expect soon to know whether there will be any prospect of it this summer, and will give you the earliest information.

I am pleased with your intention of presenting specimens of the colored strata in Lebanon to the Museum. It is certainly the most probable method for exciting attention to those valuable articles which the kind Author of Nature has so liberally scattered around us. How unhappy that there is no encouragement, from any quarter, for exploring and making experiments upon those natural productions, which might be improved as the greatest national advantages, and when we so greatly need them, too. When you have made your collections, pray remember an old friend, and throw by two or three pieces.

For this month or two past, I have been busily engaged in comparing the minutes I have made of our vegetable productions with those that have been described by botanical writers. The turning over of old folios, bringing them to the Linnæn system, and comparing them with our productions, has been a tedious job. Patience has had its perfect work. I have found myself sufficiently perplexed in distinguishing with certainty the indigenous vegetables that ought to be considered as a new genera, especially as it has long been supposed that every genus in the vegetable kingdom was known. May we not wonder that so much labor and expense should have been bestowed in examining almost every petty island in the seas, and yet so extensive a part of this continent as lies between the latitudes of 40 and 50, exceedingly diversified in soil and surface, should remain at this day unexplored? It reflects no great honor, I think, upon us, that, after all our pretensions to science, and the actual progress we have made, natural history should have been so totally neglected. Natural productions ought to be the first object of attention with an infant country. They afford us materials for all the arts and manufactures, most of the delights and ornaments of life, and the most important articles of commerce. We, as individuals, can do but little, but let us, at least, show it is not for want of dispositions.

The gentleman who brought your letter is now waiting for this, and will be so kind as to leave it with Mr. Parker. Pray write by every opportunity. Please accept our sincere regards to you and Mrs. Belknap.

I am, dear sir, most affectionately yours,

M. Cutler.

[*To Rev. Dr. Belknap.*]

IPSWICH, *June* 29, 1785.

Dear Sir:— . . . I feel anxious to make another attempt for measuring the White Mountains, but find so many difficulties in the way that I have given up the thought of going this year. The thought, however, has been a little revived within a few days, occasioned by the Count Castiglioni, an Italian gentleman from Milan, who is on his tour through the United States, principally with a view of examining their natural productions. He is very desirous of a tour to the White Mountains, and would make us a most valuable as well as very agreeable companion. He has done me the honor of spending a day or two with me. He is a perfect master of Botany, and is preserving specimens of every vegetable he finds in blossom. His manners are easy, affable, and engaging. He speaks English well—am told he is possessed of an immense fortune. He is now gone to Portsmouth. I should have given him a letter to you, if there had been any probability of his having time to go to Dover before he sets out for Penobscot, which he expected to do in a few days. After his return from the Eastward, will be the time, if at all, for the journey to the White Mountains. Dr. Dexter, of Boston, and several other gentlemen, propose to be of the party, should it be attempted.

The gunsmith at town has made some trials on our friend Place's ore, and can get no copper of consequence out of it. I fear it will turn out of little worth.

Please make Mrs. Cutler's and my compliments agreeable to your lady and family.

I am, dear sir,
Your most sincere and affectionate friend,
M. CUTLER.

P. S.—I am, at present, very much out of health, but hope it will not prove to be more than a long and tedious cold. I have been exceedingly exercised with an inflammatory sore throat, though it is now considerably abated.

[*From Rev. Dr. Belknap.*]

Dover, *Nov.* 18, 1785.

Dear Sir:—Yours of the 15th, received yesterday by Mr. Low, has cut me out a day's work to answer it. . . . "The history of my tour" is an object of your curiosity, and I am disposed to gratify it, but should rather do it *viva voce*, if it were in my power. If air balloons were as common as hackney coaches, and as easily managed, you might call and spend a day with me once a week, and I could do the same with you. This would save the trouble of writing. But, till this mode of traveling is more improved, we must be content to go on in the old way and converse by paper. My tour, like our ultramontane excursion, has just taught me *how to go again*, for, though I minuted down in my pocket-book every object that I could previously judge worth seeing, or hearing, or inquiry, and did not omit any thing which, from those hints or from after knowledge, I thought material, yet, now I am returned, I think I might have seen, and heard, and learned more than I did; and I suppose, if I were to go again, I should come home in much the same state. This is like rising from table with an appetite, which Physicians say is a sure way to preserve health.

I know but little of the "Agricultural Society," and believe there is but little to be known of it, for it is yet in an infantile state. Colonel Pickering told me they were endeavoring to form connections and correspondence and get information, and were in hopes, by and by, of doing something in the way of encouraging experiments by premiums; but, to speak in the sea phrase, they are not yet "got under way." "The Philosophical Society" is neglected by most of its members; scarce ten can be got together, unless upon some *very special occasion*. One meeting came in course while I was there, and I signified my desire of being present to my worthy friend, Dr. Clarkson, who is a member, and gave me some reason to hope that he would go with me; but when the hour arrived, I found his indifference so great that I could not urge the matter, and was prevailed upon to stay and spend the evening with him, which, he said, was much more agreeable. Thus I sacrificed my Philosophy to Friendship, for that time, and I did not repent it when I afterward learned that only five or six members were together, and that their only entertainment was a long dissertation, which Dr. Franklin sent them, on a method of remedying smoky chimneys. Now I have mentioned this veteran Philosopher, I must tell you they say he has another communication to make, respecting the anchoring of ships at sea, to keep them from drifting with currents in a calm. The anchor is to be in the form of an umbrella. He has also a lamp, which, with only three small wicks, gives a luster equal to six candles. A pipe is introduced into the midst, which supplies fresh and cool air to the lights. This might suggest an improvement to the lamps in Light-houses, and perhaps save oil. I tell you things just as they come up in the vortex of my memory, and, if you look for any other method in my letters, you will be disappointed. It is to be wished, for the benefit of mankind, that the old Don would disburden himself of all his philosophical hints, experiments, and conjectures, before he makes his exit, which must be soon, as he has completed four-fifths of a century, and is obliged to use the warm bath every day to ease the pain of the stone. This bathing vessel is said to be a curiosity. It is copper, in the form of a Slipper. He sits in the Heel, and his legs go under the Vamp; on the Instep he has a place to fix his book, and here he sits and enjoys himself. About the time I left the city of Philadelphia, they chose him President of the Executive Council. His accepting the office is a sure sign of senility. But would it not be a capital subject for an historical painting—the Doctor placed at the head of the Council Board in his bathing slipper? . . . You ask whether the Society are about printing another Volume. I asked the same question, and was told that, though their papers had been scattered and some lost in the course of the War, yet they have enough for another volume, but nobody puts it forward. Probably, the publication of ours may give them a jog, for they will not like to be rivaled by the New Englanders, especially as they think themselves before us in point of improvements. In some respects, there is a foundation for this opinion, and the most candid New Englandman must subscribe to it. . . .

Our worthy friend Little has sent me an extract from his

Journal, accompanied with a plan of the upper part of Penobscot River, in one crotch of which is a mountain, which the Indians call Tadden, *i. e.*, the highest, and say it is bald-pated like our Saconian Mountains, and exceeds them in altitude. Asking their pardon, however, I think them very poor judges, as it is well known they have no mode of mensuration, and are afraid to ascend high mountains, lest they should invade the Territory of *Hobomocko*. . . .

Now I am on the subject of mountains, I remember Mr. Rittenhouse told me that he had lately returned from beyond the Ohio (where he has been surveying); that the Alleghany Mountains are not more than half a mile perpendicular, as he judges, on the Eastern side, and that on the Western, the land is so high that they scarce appear to be mountains. This corresponds with Dr. Meyer's theory, who says that the Eastern sides of *all* mountains are steepest, owing to the descent of the waters of the deluge. This is the case with our White Mountains, as I told him, and, as far as I recollect, with all the mountains that I am acquainted with. But I rather suspect the Andes are an exception, and, if so, there must be some other cause assigned. This, however, by the by. Mr. Rittenhouse gave me a stone full of petrified sea-shells, which he brought from beyond the Ohio. He also showed me a sample of Alum ore from thence, and two immense crystals, hexagonal and pointed, and very transparent, the largest of which, I judge, weighed as much as seven or eight pounds. They were found in Virginia. In that country are many curiosities, but the most valuable are coal mines. From one in the neighborhood of Richmond, coals are brought by sea to Philadelphia, and are well esteemed at the forge. In the neighborhood of Carlisle, Pennsylvania, is an oil spring, lately discovered; the quality and medical virtues unknown at present. I inclose you the seeds of the Persimmon, a fruit natural to Pennsylvania, and the Pomegranate of Carolina. I know not whether this climate will suit them, but I am sure they will stand the chance of a fairer trial in your garden than mine. . . .

But I have done, and 't is time I should.

Your sincere and affectionate friend,

JERE. BELKNAP.

[*To Rev. Dr. Belknap.*]

IPSWICH, *Feb.* 10, 1786.

My Dear Sir:—You have involved me in a prodigious debt by your repeated favors, and you must lose it, for I have nothing to pay. I have had the pleasure of receiving three letters from you since I have had opportunity of writing to you. Yours of the 18th November, in which you have been so kind as to give me the history of your tour to Philadelphia, has afforded me and many of my friends much entertainment. . . .

The list of the members of the Philosophical Society, at Philadelphia, I sent on to Cambridge, but I believe it did not arrive in season, for I find several members of it are not noticed, as such, in the list printed in the Volume of the Memoirs. The volume is yet in the brew-tub, and when it will be got out I can not say. The printers have once supposed that they had completed their work, but upon a careful revision of the sheets, it was found necessary that they should do some of their work over again. The errors that have escaped the notice of those who were to inspect the press, and the printers, are more than I expected they would have been. In two or three sheets their inattention was intolerable. Those will be corrected; but there will be considerable errata after all. We have this, however, for our consolation, it will not exceed what we find in several of the volumes of the Transactions of the R. S.

My engagements have been such, that I have not been able yet to attend to the scale of your barometer. I hope to do it in a few days, and will write you on the subject. The cold here, from the 17th to the 20th ult., was excessive, considering its duration. On the 18th (Wednesday) the quicksilver in my barometer, at half after 8 A. M., out of doors, ranged at 12° below 0. I presume it would have ranged much lower a little before sunrise. I thought of it, but my curiosity was not strong enough to rouse me out of a warm bed. I afterward, however, regretted the sacrifice I had made to laziness and ease. By the papers, we find it was much colder at Hartford, in Connecticut. How are we to account for it? Dr. Holyoke and Brother Prince were highly gratified with their successful experiment in fixing quicksilver. The process you have seen in the newspapers. I had thought of making the attempt, the same evening, but could not muster an *apparatus* sufficient for the purpose, and so gave it up.

You have much obliged me by your kind attention to my wish of obtaining a botanical correspondent at the Southward. I made the same request to Mr. Hazard, who has favored me with a very complaisant letter, and says he mentioned it to the Count, who told him if he should meet with any gentleman in the botanical way, at the Southward, he would propose the correspondence. By the last ship from London, I received a saddle and bridle for my *Hobby*, and hope in the spring to get well mounted. Dr. Stokes, who has done me the honor to engage in a botanical correspondence, has sent me a very fine botanical microscope (an instrument I very much wanted), and has accompanied it with a long and very agreeable letter. This gentleman is engaged with Dr. Withering (they are the two most distinguished botanists in Great Britain) in publishing the history of all the British plants. They have been at the labor of investigating their characters while in a growing state, without depending in any instance on dried specimens. This is far the greatest work of the kind that has been undertaken in England since the Linnæan system has been established. It is to be published in the spring. The Dr. has sent me a sheet. The plan, though Linnæan, is new. The work, I am persuaded, is well executed. In a former letter he informed me of this undertaking, and I proposed his including American plants. But he thinks it will be best to keep our floras distinct, as the uniting them in one work must render it too bulky; and, besides, he wishes American plants may be carefully investigated, and described from living specimens, in the manner they have described the British. He has generously offered any assistance he can afford, and has given me information in many particulars, which I could not have obtained in this country. Dr. Stokes speaks highly of our Italian Count, and thinks him not inferior in botanical knowledge to the famous Scopoli (the Count's preceptor), whom he visited in a late tour he has made to Italy and Vienna. So much for botany.

Dr. Stokes wishes me to inform him "whether any of the swallow genus have been ever discovered during the winter in a torpid state, and in particular under water?" "The hypothesis of migration," he says, "has been much weakened in Europe by the doubts which have been raised respecting the assertion of M. Adanson, of his having seen the European swallow at Senegal." If you are acquainted with any facts respecting this matter, I shall be much obliged to you for them. I have pretty good evidence of their having been found here in the mud in the winter, and of their being seen to come out of it in the spring, but I wish for further information.

The Transactions of the R. S. for 1784, and the first part for 1785, have lately come to hand. No small part of these volumes are taken up with disquisitions on the several kinds of air. Among others, is a very ingenious paper by a Mr. White, who asserts, from a course of accurate and very curious experiments, which he gives at large, "that dephlogisticated or pure air is entirely composed of water deprived of its phlogiston, and united to elementary heat and light." We then must be animals of the watery element. Philosophers are certainly making *us* a kind of fish, swimming about lobster-like, with the aid of our two setting poles.

Mr. Herschel has several very interesting papers. This great astronomer has made discoveries in the heavens that are truly astonishing. By his improvement of telescopes, he has been able to penetrate the immense fields of the starry regions far beyond what any human eye (unless when unembodied) has ever reached before. He describes those distant regions as a naturalist would a rich extent of ground, or chain of mountains, containing strata variously inclined and directed, as well as consisting of different materials. In the *via lactea* he found the whitish appearance completely resolved into a glorious multitude of stars of all possible sizes. The case was the same with respect to all the nebulæ that were heretofore discovered. But, what is more remarkable, he found all those clusters arranged in strata in different forms. He has found immense starry beds of unequal breadth, some straight, some curved, and some showing a motley kind of nebulosity. One of these nebulous beds was so rich that, in passing through a section of it in the time of only 36 minutes, he detected no less than 31 nebulæ. In another stratum, he saw double and triple nebulæ, variously arranged—large ones with small attendants, some in the shape of a fan, some in the form of an electric brush, issuing from a lucid point; others, of the cometic shape, with a seeming nucleus in the center, or like cloudy stars surrounded with a nebulous atmosphere. A different sort again, a nebulosity of the milky kind, like that wonderful, inexplicable phenomenon near Orion, mentioned by Ferguson, while others shine with a fainter, mottled kind of light, which denotes their being resolvable into stars. He has discovered, besides, innumerable stars, 466 new nebulæ and clusters of stars, none of which have been seen before by any person. Between the strata, he found extensive fields without a single star in them. He has been able yet to visit but a very small portion of the heavens, and supposes he has had but a glimpse of the borders of those starry fields where he has been gazing. He is persuaded that improvements in Telescopes are yet in an infant state, and that infinitely greater discoveries of the interior construction of the heavens will one day be made. . . . I have got a new maggot in my head, which sometimes bites pretty smartly. What think you, my friend of the Ohio Country? Is it not much preferable to these frozen regions? Will the natives of the states do justice to their families and posterity, if they suffer foreigners to come and plant themselves down in incomparably the best part of the United States, without, at least, taking a share with them? It appears to me a matter worthy the serious attention of those who have large families to provide for, and have little or no real estate to leave them, that they should provide for them, as they may now have their choice in the best part of the country. A landed interest in that part of the country will supply a family with all the necessaries and even luxuries of life, with a very small part of the labor which is necessary here to get a very indifferent living. And a small sum will, at this time, purchase such an interest. I will mention my own situation. I am now laboring for a very scanty living. My family is large, and all depending on me for support. When my labors cease, this support is at an end. If I should survive my labors, as may be the case, how am I and my family to be supported? Or, if I do not survive, how is my family to be supported? Now it is probably in my power to provide for future necessities, and to plant my family down in the most eligible part of the country, with comfortable prospects before them. I feel little or no local attachment, except to my people, and as I have served them the greatest part of the best of my days for little more than half a support, I think they can not justly complain, if I look out for myself in the decline of life. My reveries are much in this way, and the matter will end probably in nothing more. You were in the way of getting particular information of the Ohio Country when at Philadelphia, especially from Mr. Rittenhouse. I wish to obtain a particular account, but more to see it myself. I suspect I have got into the field of fancy, and if I have, I wish to be shown the way out. Pray favor me with your sentiments on this subject. . . .

Your most sincere and affectionate friend,

M. Cutler.

[*From Rev. Dr. Belknap.*]

Dover, *March* 1, 1786.

My Dear Sir:—Your very kind favor of the 10th ult. came safe to hand. . . . I thank you most sincerely for the communication of Mr. Herschel's discoveries and other matters out of the R. Socy. Transactions, a work which I never see. Should any thing else occur in that way, pray favor me with it. I have a strong curiosity to know what is doing in the literary world, and but very little opportunity to gratify it.

How came you to ask *me* to account for it, that the cold should be greater at Hartford than at Ipswich on the 18th of January? I find by the papers it was greater still at New York. Pray, how are we to account for this? Is it a fact that where there is a current of water there is a similar current of air? If so, then, as Hartford and N. York are situated on large rivers, whose current is from the N., may not a stream of cold air accompany those waters, and render the air there more sharp at particular times than at places so remote either way? This is all a conjecture of my own, and if it should excite your laughter, you must take a part of the blame for putting me on exposing myself thus.

I am very glad you have a Botanical Correspondent in Europe, and wish you may find one in America. As to the question which Dr. Stokes asks about swallows, and which you desire me to attend to, I can say nothing on my own knowledge or observation. It is a received opinion, among those of our country people who give themselves any trouble to think on such matters, that swallows do not leave this for a warmer climate, but remain in wet places. The chief foundation for this opinion is, that they are always first seen in the spring in low, marshy grounds, or near rivers. Two such places in this town are remarkable for their first appearance. My Father, who is fond of making observations of this kind, has repeatedly assured me of the following fact: In the fall of 1774, when General Gage was making his first intrenchments on Boston Neck (which, you know, is marshy ground), and the people of the town were making bricks within a few rods, my Father, with one of his neighbors, walked over to view the works, sometime in *October*, and observed several swallows flying thereabouts. This was two months or more after the usual time of their disappearing. The most obvious thought on the matter is, that their haunts were encroached upon by the British General; and well would it have been for him and his master, who set him to work, if they had no greater mischief to answer for than this! Another thing I have often heard him, *i. e.*, my Father, say, which may give an hint for the solution of another controverted point among Naturalists: When he was a young man, about fifty years ago, while the Work-house in Boston was building, he went up to the scaffolds, which were just under the eaves, immediately after a very heavy thunder-storm, and on those scaffolds, were a vast number of little Toads, not bigger than one's finger-nail, hopping about and falling to the ground. The inference is, that they came down in that shower, for, had they been brought forth in the ground, or in water-puddles, how could they have mounted the scaffolds?

Now I have got started in the story-telling way, I will tell you something which I had from our worthy brother, Mr. Whitwell, late of Marblehead. One winter during the war, the people of that town being hard put to it for firing, made an attack on a Cedar Swamp somewhere in the neighborhood, and in the thickest part of it found great numbers of Robins in a torpid state. You may acquaint yourself farther with this fact by inquiring of any intelligent person in that town. It is said that a man in this town once shot a wild Pigeon in the month of *March* which had a green grape, undigested, in its crop. Pray, how far off do you think he picked it at that season? And how long was he flying here? How many seconds intervene from the appearance of a flock of Pigeons on one side of the horizon to their disappearance on the other? These are known to be birds of passage. Well, suppose Swallows should be shot at their first appearance in the spring, and *no* food be found in their crops, would not that determine the question about their migration?

To pass from hence to the migration of nobler animals. The Ohio lands have an attractive energy. Had you asked Father Little the same question, he would have certainly recommended *Penobscot* as superior. His heart is much set on the Eastern Country. But I must venture to differ from him so much as to think it more eligible to get from under the sweep of Ursa Major, and were I to emigrate, I should most certainly set my face the same way that the Indians looked for their Heaven, viz., S.W. But I should be loth to part with my night-cap, and therefore should be rather cautious *at present* how far I ventured into their Territory. All parts of America have in their turn been subject to that inconvenience, and it seems as if the Ohio Country was now more exposed than any other to the depredations of those uncontrolled Lords of the Desert. Were this difficulty out of the way, you would have every inducement of a temporal nature in favor of a removal. The best of land at a low price! (But this will doubtless rise.) No wintering of cattle! Plenty of all the necessary and desirable productions of the Earth! Room enough for your hobby-horse to graze at pleasure, and to canter away Jehu like!

The stories about the Indians may, for aught I know, be magnified, certainly there are great multitudes of people from Pennsylvania, Jersey, New York, etc., gone and going to Kentucky. Either Mr. Rittenhouse or another gentleman who came from thence (I forget which) said he met *thousands* of people going there, and I heard the same repeatedly while at Philadelphia and on the road. If you desire any particular inquiries, I can make them for you, and will when you send me a detail of them. . . .

I am, dear sir,
Your friend and brother,
JEREMY BELKNAP.

Do n't forget the scale for the thermometer.

[*To Rev. Mr. Belknap.*]

IPSWICH, *March* 3, 1786.

Dear Sir:—When I first cast my eye over the scale of your thermometer, I imagined you might apply a scale similar to Fahrenheits, but, on further examination, suspect whether you will be able to do it, except by placing Fahrenheit's thermometer by the side of yours. The necessary data on your scale will be two fixed points, that of freezing, and either that at which spirits or water boil. Neither of these seem to be noted on your scale with sufficient precision. I find on your scale 55° cold, 55° frost, and 77° hard frost. Is 65° the precise point of freezing? If it be, you have one of the necessary fixed points given. But, then, you want another, viz., that of boiling spirits or water which are not expressed, for from 7° above 0 to 5° is the region of extreme heat, and then 15° sultry, leaving it altogether uncertain at what point spirit and water boil. There may be difficulty in determining the point at which water boils in a spirit thermometer, but there can be none in ascertaining the point at which spirits boil. On Fahrenheit's scale, freezing point is at 32°. Spirits boil at 175°, and water at 212. These are the points from which the scale is graduated. Now, if you can find the point of freezing, and that at which spirits boil on your scale, you can easily construct and apply one similar to Fahrenheit's, by extending the line from off the scale of your thermometer at freezing point on to your new scale, and do the same from the point at which spirits boil, then divide the space between these points into 143 equal parts, viz., the number of degrees between 32 and 175, and by continuing your equal divisions, you may go as far above and below those points as you please. If you can satisfy yourself with respect to the freezing point, I should suppose you may ascertain that at which spirits boil by immersing your thermometer in spirits, and producing heat sufficient to make them boil. Care ought to be taken that all parts of the spirits in your tube be equally heated by immersing the tube nearly as far in the spirits as the spirits within the tube will rise when the spirits without begins to boil. Your spirits ought to be well rectified, for the more water they contain the more heat will be required to make them boil, and consequently the error will be so much the greater. You may rectify your spirits (New England rum will answer) by dissolving four ounces of alkaline salts (pearl-ash is commonly used) in one quart, and so in proportion, if the quantity be greater or less. A thought has this instant come into my mind, which I wonder should not have occurred before. I see no difficulty that can attend your immersing your thermometer in water and then applying heat sufficient to cause the spirits to boil in the tube. Carefully note the point on your scale, increase the heat until your water boils, which will give you the point corresponding to 212° on Fahrenheit's scale. Water, I am sensible, can not acquire a heat above 212°, or that of boiling, but I presume spirit confined in a tube, purified from air, is capable of receiving a much greater heat than that of water, as there is no possibility of evaporation. But this is a branch of natural philosophy to which I have never very much attended, and of which you have the best knowledge.

Fahrenheit's scale is frequently adjusted by Reaumur's thermometer, and *vice versa*, which is easily done, because the fixed points are given on both of them. By the way, Reaumur's scale, on which freezing point, the only point which seems to be properly fixed in nature, is 0, and the number of degrees ascend and descend, appears to me much more natural than any that has been invented. But I think, however, it has its faults. The principal one is, the largeness of the divisions. If I remember right, water boils at 100°, which makes the distance of the degrees much too great for nice experiments. In one of the late volumes of the Transactions of the R. S. there is a new improvement on thermometers. A thermometer on a new construction has been invented by Mr. Wedgewood for the purpose of ascertaining the degree of heat in which all the different species of metals will fuse, and the scale so graduated as to be connected with that of Fahrenheit's. I would send you the principles and methods of construction as a curiosity, but I have not the volume at this time by me.

It is much to be regretted that thermometer and barometer tubes are not made in this country, and in this part of it. I am persuaded glass-works, were they undertaken by some person or persons of property, and under the direction of a workman who was well acquainted with the business, might be made very profitable to the proprietors, and of general utility. It is an employment that requires few hands, we have the materials in plenty, and the consumption of the various kinds of glassware is very great. At such works we might be furnished with a great variety of glass philosophical instruments, ~~for~~ which we are now obliged to send to Europe, or go without them. Might not this business be carried on to advantage at Dover or Portsmouth?

I thank you for your kind exertions to procure me a botanical correspondent at the southward. I have thought of requesting the favor of Mr. Hazard of applying to the Captain of the next ship that shall sail for the East Indies, and desire him to procure the seeds of certain vegetable productions, natives of that country. The varnish tree will, without the least doubt, flourish here; and I am much inclined to believe *one* if not *two* species of tea will grow with us. Probably in the Ohio Country it might be propagated to great advantage. Not having any personal acquaintance with Mr. Hazard, I feel some reluctance to make the request.

I am, dear sir,
Most sincerely yours,
M. CUTLER.

[*To Rev. Dr. Belknap.*]

IPSWICH, *April* 1, 1786.

My Dear Friend:— . . . We have so many facts and circumstances related of swallows being found in the mud in the winter, or seen to come out of it in the spring, that there seems to be no ground to doubt whether they are birds of passage or not. The most incontestible proof of their retreat into the mud in the fall is a fact related by Mr. Dexter,* in a paper printed in our Memoirs, which you will soon see, and another I have received from Prof. Williams, who assures me that a few winters ago he had several swallows brought (to him, which he carefully examined) by a person who said he found them in the mud on the side of a pond not far from Cambridge. The toads you mention on the scaffold is a curious matter, but the common opinion of their falling from the clouds in rain can not, I believe, be very easily supported on philosophical principles. . . . Might not the small toads found on the scaffold be of the species called tree toads, which you know will ascend trees? And may not those toads and frogs we commonly see hopping about after a shower be invited abroad from the places of their retreat in dry weather by the cool, moist state of the air, and the descent of rain, or in search of food?

The Memoirs of the Academy are now ready to be delivered to subscribers, but I have not yet received any of them from the printers. As soon as they come to hand, I will forward a volume to you. Mrs. Cutler joins me in kind respects to you and Mrs. Belknap.

I am your most affectionate friend and brother,

M. CUTLER.

---

* Hon. Samuel Dexter, LL.D., in a paper published in the Memoirs of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences, volume 1, relates, upon the authority of Judge Foster, of Brookfield, that when a certain pond was drained in that season of the year when swallows first appear, a multitude of swallows disengaged themselves from the mud in the bottom; and gives other reasons for his belief that the mud is their winter resting-place.

[*To Rev. Dr. Belknap.*]

IPSWICH, *July* 25, 1786.

Dear Sir:— . . . Mr. Samuel Vaughan, Jr., of Philadelphia, called on me lately, to inform me of his determination to visit the White Mountains, and to consult about the matter. The season being too far advanced for a visit this summer, Mr. Vaughan proposes to send to Europe in the fall for every kind of instrument we may want, which will arrive in the spring. About midsummer, a tour is proposed, but I wish to consult you, and hope for the pleasure of your company. I saw Colonel Waters the day after commencement, and desired him to put himself in readiness. He appeared much pleased, and proposes to provide well in *comfortables* for the journey. Mr. Vaughan has been at the Eastward for several weeks. He returned last week to Boston, and proposed another tour east in about a fortnight, but he informed me yesterday by letter that he was going on to Philadelphia. He is, however, to return soon, and will be at Pownalboro' on the 28th of August, when a quantity of land belonging to his father is to be sold at that place. In this journey, he intends to call on you. He has made the tour of Europe, and appears to be acquainted with many distinguished literary characters in the countries through which he traveled. Mineralogy has been his favorite study. He has furnished himself with the best apparatus ever imported into America, and, I presume, is well acquainted with the subject. He seems to have a truly philosophic mind, and appears sensible, curious, and very agreeable. He writes me that Count Castiglioni is now at Philadelphia, and has been much delighted with his tour to the Southern States. He went as far as Savannah, and returned behind the Blue Mountains. He stays till the beginning of August in Philadelphia, when he proceeds to New York and Rhode Island, and embarks for Europe in November.

Mr. Guild, in his late tour to the Southward, procured me a pamphlet entitled *Arbustrum Americanum*, by Humphrey Marshall, of Chester County, in Pennsylvania. It is a description of the native forest trees and shrubs of the American United States, alphabetically arranged. He has given the generic and specific characters, and mentioned the class and order to which they belong, according to the Linnæan system. I have not had time to peruse it, but have no doubt of his being well acquainted with the Linnæan Botany. Pray let me hear from you by the first opportunity, and be assured that I am,

Your most affectionate friend and brother,

M. CUTLER.

[*To Rev. Dr. Belknap.*]

IPSWICH, *March* 6, 1789.

Dear Sir:— . . . While I was at Muskingum, I endeavored to obtain every information possible respecting the ancient works. The most material relates to their antiquity. But the minutes I made are interspersed among a great number of others on different subjects, though mostly botanical. Such have been the constant demands on my time since my return, that I have not yet so much as cast my eye over them. They are too much in a chaotic state to attempt, at this time, to give you any thing from them. We attended with the most scrupulous exactness to the ages of the trees, and in a manner that might give an account of them the fullest authenticity. It can be proved, beyond the possibility of doubt, that those works were of a much earlier date than the discovery of America by Columbus, which may put an end to the dispute about *Fernando de Soto.** It is my intention, as I think the evidence of their antiquity ought to be preserved, to communicate an account of the matter, either to the American Academy or the Society at Philadelphia. I should have done it before this time, had it not been that some measurements of some particular parts of the works which I supposed it necessary to preserve, which General Putnam engaged to complete and forward, are not yet come to hand. As soon as I can get an opportunity to overhaul my papers, I will send you some account of the minutes I have made, and will put into your hands the paper I mean to communicate.

There is, as you have probably heard, a new hypothesis prevalent in the Western Country, though I believe started first in Scotland, by Dr. Barton, respecting the design of those ancient works—that they were not intended for military, but religious purposes. To me, however, there appears not much ground for the conjecture. The military gentlemen at Muskingum have given up the former opinion, that they were works of defense, and strongly advocate the new hypothesis. I was the only one, I believe, on the ground that dissented. It struck me as rather curious that military gentlemen should contend that they were constructed for religious purposes, and a clergyman that they were works of defense—opinions so contrary to their professional prejudices.

---

* Noah Webster had published a series of papers to prove that the ancient works, found in so many places in the Mississippi Valley, were built by De Soto.

Have you met with any account of the ancient method of burying the dead in the eastern parts of Asia? Have mounds or tumuli been noticed in that part of the world? Where can I find any account of the manners and customs of the people bordering on the straits between Asia and America? Have you seen any particular account of the mounds and tumuli in Denmark and Norway? Of those in Ireland and Scotland, I have got all the information I wish for. You will much oblige me by giving me any information relating to these matters, or directing me where to find it.

Yours, most sincerely,

M. Cutler.

[*From Rev. Dr. Belknap.*]

Boston, *March* 13, 1789.

My Dear Sir:—Yesterday I received your favor of the 6th inst., but before I say any thing in answer to it, I will transcribe for you part of a letter from Winthrop Sargent, at Marietta, to Mr. Daniel Sargent, which he sent me last evening for my perusal. It is in the form of a diary:

"Saturday, the 10th of January, 1789, departed this life, after a lingering illness, James Mitchell Varnum, Esq., one of the Judges of this Territory.

"This day terminated the Indian business confirming the boundaries of lands to which their claims are extinguished as settled at McIntosh in 1785. The treaty was signed by the chiefs present of the Senecas and Five Nations, the Wyandots, Delawares, Chippewas, Ottawas, Munsees, Pottawatimes, and Sacks, to the number of about 24. Upon this occasion the Directors and Agents, together with the citizens of Marietta, will give a dinner to the chiefs, which, as far as it respects the Indians, is to be at the expense of the Ohio Company. Gentlemen dining with them to pay their club."

Copy of the Invitation Directed to the Linguists.

"You are requested to inform the Wyandots, etc., that we are desirous of celebrating the good work which the Great Spirit has permitted our father, the Governor, with our brothers, General Butler and their sachems and chiefs, so happily to accomplish. For which purpose we will prepare an entertainment on Monday next at 2 o'clock, and our brothers, the sachems and chiefs, to whom we now send tokens, are requested to attend at that time, that we may in friendship and as true brothers eat and drink together, and smoke the pipe of everlasting peace, and evidence to the whole world how bright and strong is that chain which the thirteen United States hold safe at one end and the Wyandots, etc., at the other. We are very sorry that we can not entertain *all our brothers, together with their wives and children*, but as we have come into this country, from a very long way, some of us 40 or 50 days' journey toward the sun-rising, and could not bring much provision along with us, it is now out of our power. We trust the Great Spirit will permit us to plant and gather our corn, and increase our stores, and that their children and children's children may be told how much we shall always rejoice to make glad their hearts when they come to see us."

"Tuesday 13th was buried Judge Varnum.

Order of the Procession.

Captain Zeigler, with 70 rank and file from the Garrison of Fort Harmar.

Four Marshals, viz:

Mr. Wheaton, bearing the sword and military commissions of the deceased on a mourning cushion.

Mr. Mayhew, bearing the Diploma of the Order of Cincinnati on a mourning cushion.

Mr. Lord, bearing the civil commission on a mourning cushion.

Mr. Fearing, with the insignia of Masonry on a mourning cushion.

Corpse.

Griffin Green, Esq.
Judge Tupper.

Judge Crary.
Judge Putnam.

Judge Parsons.

Secretary.
[Major Winthrop Sargent.]

Mourners, Two and Two.
Citizens, " " "
Indian chiefs, " " "
Militia officers, " " "
Officers of Fort Harmar, " " "
Civil officers, " " "
Cincinnati, " " "
Masons, " " "

Thus far Major Sargent's Diary.

. . . .

I will make the inquiries which you desire, and shall be highly gratified by being the medium of communication as you propose, but let it be made to *our* Academy, and let us have also your botanical researches, unless you should choose to publish them in a book of your own. This may perhaps yield you some profit, and I think you deserve some recompense for your labors. . . . I am inclined to your opinion concerning the works at Muskingum, and other places, though the circular tumuli are undoubtedly sepulchral. Have you seen Jefferson's notes, in which he speaks of the opening of one in Virginia? The contrast between your opinion and that of the military gentlemen is rather curious, but do you not recollect that gunpowder was invented by a monk, and printing by a soldier? Did I tell you Kirkland's account of the tradition of the Senecas, concerning similar works remaining in their country?

Mr. [Nathan] Dane, of Beverly, can tell you of an opinion started by, I think, a Colonel Symmes, concerning an ancient population, and migration of the Indians of North America. I heard him speak of it at Gov. B—'s table last fall.

As to the manners and customs of the inhabitants of the eastern parts of Asia, I suppose Bell's travels through Tartary and China will furnish some hints. I have seen only an abridgment of the work, and that some years ago. Perhaps Muller's voyages might be some help. The most recent, if not most perfect, account of the straits between America and Asia is in Cook's last voyage. Concerning Denmark and Norway, you may consult Coxe's travels and Pontoppidan Bp. of Bergen's Nat. History. These are both in the college library, and I expect to get the former pretty soon, and if there is any thing of the kind you want I will notice and extract it.

By my friend, Captain Magee, lately gone to China, I have sent for the seeds of the Japan varnish tree, concerning which you wrote to me some time ago. I have also given him a memorandum of certain marine productions and aquatic birds, and particularly charged him to inquire for the Bird of Paradise at Batavia.

He will not probably return till next August twelve month. He is a very curious, intelligent, and obliging man.

It is probable that Judge Dana, who has been in Russia, may be able to give some account, or direct to some work wherein may be found some account, of Siberia and Tartary. He once showed me a book containing the various *habits* of the people, subjects of the Russian Empire, delineated and printed with great accuracy.

There is a folio history of Kamschatka. I once saw it sold at a vendue, but I knew not the name of the author, nor the merit of the work. You must come and spend a day at Cambridge and hunt the catalogues and alcoves. I suppose you may have any book, by leave of the corporation, if you are engaged in composing a literary work.

We have lately had a new Professorship instituted for Natural Religion and Civil Government, by the executors of Colonel Alford, to be called after him. The revenue is now about £90 plum, to be increased by funding.

Respects to Mrs. Cutler.

Your affectionate brother,

Jere. Belknap.

[*To Rev. Dr. Belknap.*]

Ipswich, *March* 19, 1789.

My Dear Sir:— . . . I thank you for the kind offer to make the inquiries I requested. I fear I have drawn too largely on your friendship. You must protest when the bills are too high. You mentioned Kirkland's account in a former letter. Mounds of earth are frequent in every part of the Western Country that has yet been explored, if the accounts of hunters may be relied on. Some of those I conversed with were undoubtedly men of probity, and they generally agreed in this matter. Regular banks of earth are found in many places. Several regular works are found in Kentucky, of very considerable magnitude. But those at Muskingum exceed any that have yet been found. The number of people that once inhabited this spot must have been immense, if we judge only from the quantity of labor those works cost. It was probably the Imperial City, and the Emporium of the country. I am in doubt whether any dependence is to be made on Indian tradition respecting them, though many of them pretend to some knowledge about them. I am inclined to think their ideas of the original design of those works have rather been handed to them by the Europeans and Americans with whom they have been conversant, than from their own ancestors. I conversed frequently with an Indian chief of the Seneca tribe, between 80 and 90 years of age. He was a distinguished character among the Indians for his strict veracity, as well as for martial achievements, and one of their greatest orators. I was surprised to see a man of that age with so much sprightliness about him—his body erect, and countenance rather florid; and yet marks of senility were more evident on his body than in his mind. He was eccentric as an Indian, for he did not get drunk. On inquiring of him about those ancient works, he said he could not tell who made them, nor for what purpose they were made. It was done a great while ago, and all the Indians had forgotten what they were for. They were to be met with in the various parts of the country where he had been. I asked him if the dead were not put into those high mounds, and if the high banks of the squares were not for defense? He said he believed so, but did not know. In short, he seemed to make a point of confessing that the Indians knew nothing about them by tradition. When I had examined the trees, I was fully satisfied that the confession of the Seneca chief was honest, that those works were of too early a date to have any thing material respecting them preserved to this time by the natives. I intended to have said nothing to you of the age of the trees, until I could get leisure to collect and arrange my minutes, and give you the whole matter in detail. But, as I have now involuntarily mentioned them, I will just observe that trees were found upon the works in every possible period of existence, from the present year's growth from the seed, to a state of decay so far advanced as only to be traced by the vacuities and depressions in the ground, where they once stood, and their moldering bodies under the leaves. But nothing more than conjecture could be derived from the trees that were dead or fallen. Those in a growing state which bore the greatest marks of age were found to be hollow at the heart. Thrifty trees only were found to be entirely sound. I was therefore reduced to the necessity of making a calculation, but from such data as will not be disputed. The oldest tree that was sound at the heart had nearly 300 circles well defined—very thrifty, and evidently not arrived to a middle state of existence, accidents excepted. The oldest that was growing was a tulip tree, called in the country the white poplar, and which General Putnam, in his account of the settlement, published in a late paper, erroneously calls a poplar or aspen. It had a pretty large hollow, but I think it will appear sufficiently evident, when the data and calculation is attended to, that it must have been 600 years of age. That the circles are annual growths is a fact that has long been established. But, to satisfy myself, I examined a large number of young pawpaws, from one to eight years of age. Their age is easily known by a particular kind of joint in the trunk, which terminates every year's growth (or, rather, marks the beginning of the new year's growth), until they are ten or twelve years of age. In all, I found the circles to correspond with the joints in the trunk.

If conjecture were to be indulged, on a careful view of the stumps of the trees that were living, and on the traces of decayed trees as they appeared when I was on the ground, the date of the works would be carried back as much as a thousand years. And nothing appears but that they might have been erected at a much earlier period even than that.

Colonel Symmes may have started a very rational opinion, for aught I know, to Mr. Dane. I have heard several of his conjectures mentioned, which did not reflect much honor upon his abilities. Credulity has been mentioned by his friends as a distinguished trait in his character. However, I thank you for the information, and shall inquire of Mr. Dane. I have seen Jefferson's Notes. Muller's Voyages I believe I can get in Salem. Cook's last voyage I have never seen, nor do I know who is the owner. The other books you mention I have not seen, nor do I know where to find them. I think it is probable Judge Dana may be able to give some information, and I believe I shall take the liberty to inquire of him.

I hope the seeds you have sent for by Captain Magee will arrive. My friend, Mr. S. Vaughan, Jr., has sent me a box of seeds, collected from the East and West Indies; among them Bohea and Hyson Tea, and what he calls a third species of tea, though Botanists have made only two, Bengal mountain rice, Bastard Bread-fruit from the Isle of France, Pain de singer Lausania, remarkable for its flower and perfume, Gum Arabic, Square Pea, and Cherry Pea of Pondicherry, etc.

The corporation have permitted me, for several years, to take books from the library. I wish to spend a few days at Cambridge and Boston, but when, I can not say. I intend to begin my botanical rambles as soon as spring opens, which will occupy my time for the summer, and until then I must be very busy about family and other matters. My respects to Mrs. B. and family.

Your affectionate friend and brother,

M. Cutler.

[*From Rev. Dr. Belknap.*]

Boston, *October* 21, 1789.

Dear Sir:—I have not forgot, tho' I have not yet performed, my promise to give you some thoughts on the formation of a seminary of learning. Inclosed I send you the plan of an academy at Manchester, in England, in which you will find some valuable hints. What I have else to say, I shall say in as few words as possible.

I am not fond of monastic customs, separate buildings, and eating in common. Boys are better when they reside in sober families than when they are allowed to keep a chamber, have furniture, and live by themselves. In this case they are too much exposed to temptations, associate more in gangs, are riotous and ungovernable, and keep bad hours. Their immature age is an insuperable objection to their having so much the direction of themselves. They ought to be under family government, either in the houses of their parents, or such persons as their parents can confide in. This would save a great deal of trouble to the Instructors, and one usual Officer in a College, viz., a steward, would be unnecessary.

As to discipline, there is enough in the Manchester plan to answer the end; and you will observe there are no pecuniary mulcts, which are in fact a tax upon the parent, and only a punishment to the child, as the parent thereby becomes acquainted with his misdemeanors. If crimes are committed by students which are punishable by the civil law, it will be more proper in certain cases to let that take its course than to have penal statutes against the same crimes; but, if private admonition will reclaim, there is no need of having recourse to either. Let citizens and students be under the same laws, and more peace and less jealousy will be the consequence than if they are under separate jurisdictions.

A Seminary ought, as far as possible, to stand on its own foundation in regard to pecuniary support; but, if it has not a sufficiency, it is far better to recur to the friends of the children who are educated than to any Legislative or other public bodies. From them it is not easily obtained. I hope yours will have a landed Interest, and that in time it will be productive.

If you think of any other particulars upon which I can give you any advice or information; or, if you would wish any farther enlargement on any of these hints which I have now given, I will attend to your request.

I called on Dr. Fisher, and asked him about Charlevoix's Travels, which I lent him four years ago. He said that he had delivered the book to you, to be returned to me. I wish you would look it up, and let me have it, as it is a borrowed one. I ought to have returned it long ago.

In the prosecution of my history of New Hampshire, I shall have to ask you some questions in the Natural History way. I am not at present prepared; but when I am, shall write to you.

Pray, let us have the pleasure of seeing you again this fall—perhaps at Cambridge next Academy meeting.

With respects to Mrs. Cutler, I am, dear sir,

Your friend and brother,

THE REV. MANASSEH CUTLER. JERE. BELKNAP.

BOSTON, *May* 30, 1792.

Sir:—I have the pleasure of informing you that the Historical Society have done themselves the Honor of electing you one of their members. In their name, I ask your acceptance of the election, and that you will unite your efforts with theirs to promote the valuable purpose of the institution.

I inclose to you a copy of the Constitution of the Society and of their circular Letter, and am, sir,

With much respect, your very humble servant,

JEREMY BELKNAP,

Corresponding Secretary.

THE REV. MANASSEH CUTLER, LL.D.

IPSWICH, *June* 26, 1792.

My Dear Sir:—I am favored with yours of May the 30th, informing me that I have been elected a member of the Historical Society. The Honor done me by a Society so respectable sensibly impresses my mind, and induces me not to decline an acceptance, though I very much fear it will not be in my power to afford the least aid to the design of the institution. If, at any time, I should be able to contribute the smallest mite, it will give me much pleasure.

Sincerely wishing your exertions may be as successful as your views are laudable,

I have the honor to be, with much respect, sir,

Your most obedient, humble servant,

REV. JEREMY BELKNAP, M. CUTLER.

Secy. Hist. Society.

Dr. Cutler took great interest in the Historical Society, and was always watchful to promote its object, by securing additions to its library and cabinet. He usually attended its meetings. Of one of these he gives this account:

"*July* 30, 1793. The Historical Society met at 7 o'clock in the morning, at Faneuil Hall, and adjourned to Governor's Island. We went down in a large boat, dined there, and spent the day very agreeably. When we returned in the evening, set me ashore at Winnissimet—I came home."

CHAPTER XX.

CORRESPONDENCE WITH DR. STOKES, MRS. MERRY, MR. VAUGHAN, BARON HERMELIN, DR. BARTON, DR. MUHLENBURG, MR. STICKNEY, COUNT CASTIGLIONI, MR. PAYKULL, DR. SWARTZ, HON. JOHN DAVIS, LORD VALENTIA, JUDGE PARSONS, PROF. C. F. RAFINESQUE, TIMOTHY PICKERING, EPHRAIM CUTLER.

[*From Dr. Jonathan Stokes.**]

STOURBRIDGE, WORCESTERSHIRE, ENG., *Aug.* 17, 1785.

Sir:—Your favor of June 28th, which I received yesterday, has proved the source of many pleasing reflections.

There is no country in the world, next to my own, to which I feel myself so strongly attached, or in whose well-doing I am so much interested, as that of which you, sir, are a citizen. Long may you be *United* States. The name, alas! will long remind us with regret that we are no longer one people; but I trust we shall still be united in one general interest for the natural liberties of man, for the improvement of his moral and intellectual faculties, and for the promotion of every art and science which can tend to preserve or augment his happiness. As a citizen of the world, let me congratulate you, sir, on the noble field which lies before you, on the interesting objects you have in view, in the patronage of an enlightened people. As an individual, let me return you my sincere thanks for the liberal communications which you offer, and truly happy shall I esteem myself, if, at this distance, I can be able to contribute any thing toward the great ends which you have in view, and pleasing is the reflection that we have thus discovered a new and unexpected point of union.

It would give me pleasure to see the vegetable subjects of the once British Empire united under one botanical legislature, but as it is, perhaps, for the happiness of the whole that an Empire which, like Rome, might have grown too unwieldy for itself, as well as too formidable for the rest of mankind, should separate, I can not help thinking that the diffusion of botanical knowledge will be accelerated by keeping our Flora distinct.

---

*Jonathan Stokes was a botanist of note, contemporary with Withering, whom he assisted in preparing his works. He was the author of a botanical Materia Medica, which was published in London in 1812. In the southern states there is a plant belonging to the Compositæ, named Stokesia Cynea, in honor of Dr. Stokes.—*C. G. Lloyd.*

I have had it some time in contemplation to extend the plan, at least, of the Botanical Arrangement, to the plants cultivated in these isles; but the liberal offers of assistance which I have had the pleasure to receive from you, will induce me to contract my views on the one side, to be enabled to take advantage of the new field which you have opened me, of native specimens, and of North American plants not cultivated in these kingdoms. I propose, therefore, if it meets with your approbation, as soon as we shall have completed the Botanical Arrangement, to begin with an examination of all such plants that I may have in my herbarium, or of which I shall be able to procure living specimens, which are supposed to be natives of N. America, translating all that Linnæus has given on the subject, with a collection of synonyms at full length, with all the observations, medical and economical, to be collected from authors. Such a work, I am persuaded, would be useful to both countries; but though even it should be enriched by you, it can only be regarded as an essay. A complete Flora of North America is a work which the public can only expect from you, and the observations of a series of years. But, though not complete, it will be useful, and be, perhaps, the best means of rendering it complete. . . . I am happy to hear of the safe arrival of Count Castiglioni. I found him the character you describe, and regretted much that he did not fulfill the promise he made us of repeating his visit. He is what I would call a botanist of sound principles. He has studied the philosophy of Botany with great attention, and seems to have escaped most of the foibles of his immediate master, Scopoli, who is, I think, not less fond of saying something which shall appear new, than of discovering what is really so.

I am apprehensive I spoke too freely to the Count of my opinion of his master. I am fully sensible of the merits of

Scopoli, who has deserved much, but I can not approve of his leading away the attention of the young botanist from the severe distinctive characters of Linnæus to his own picturesque but often vague diagnosis.

North America has hitherto been Linnæan, and I trust will not be retarded in its progress by absurd national partiality, even for the good and excellent Ray, or be dazzled by the ill-timed eloquence of the French Zoölogist. But, though I revere Linnæus, the sexual system is, with me, one of the least of his merits. I would adhere to it, "but I will hold it so loosely," to borrow an expression from a little work of Mrs. Stokes, which was the happy means of introducing her to Mr. Eliot, "as not to be hurt by its thorns."

The sexual system is a bond of union. It has tended much to give universality to one system, which, like establishment and corporations, is of use for a time, but a too rigid adherence to its principles tends to lead us to separate natural genera. Of this, my long to be regretted friend, the younger Linnæus, was fully sensible. His first object was to keep the natural assemblages together, as this is the great use and end of all arrangement. Easy investigation is a secondary consideration, as exceptions in the synopsis of the genera at the head of the classes will supply all deficiencies of that kind. Linnæus has, in compliance with the usage of former botanists, and often in conformity with the sexual distinctions, often multiplied genera unnecessarily. . . . I should be glad to learn whether any of the Swallow genus have ever been discovered during the winter in a torpid state, and in particular, under water, and to be informed what the prevailing opinion is respecting the habitation of these birds during the winter. The hypothesis of migration has been much weakened in Europe by the doubts which have been raised respecting the assertion of Mr. Adanson respecting his having seen the European Swallow at Senegal. Mr. Adanson complained to me, when at Paris, of Mr. Barrington's treatment of him. I inquired whether he had brought over any specimens of the species which he called the Swallow of Europe, to which he replied that he had deposited one of them in the King's cabinet. Then I applied to M. Dauberton, the younger, for a sight of it, but was not so fortunate as to succeed in my application. The reasons alleged by Mr. Barrington convince me it was not the Hirendo nestica, but the Chimney Swallow, that he saw. The great extent of latitude occupied by the United States will, perhaps, enable your Philosophical Societies to ascertain the nature of the Swallows better than we can in Europe, stopped, as we are, by the Mediterranean and the uncivilized state of Africa. . . .

I have the honor to remain, with the highest respect, Sir,
Your most obedient, humble servant,
JONATHAN STOKES.

[*To Dr. Stokes.*]

IPSWICH (STATE OF MASSACHUSETTS), *Oct.* 30, 1786.

Dear Sir:—Your kind favor of August 1st I had the pleasure of receiving the 14th inst. I am much obliged by the particular description you give me of your method of preserving specimens, and the attention you have paid to those I sent you.

The small compass to which it was necessary to reduce those I sent you, prevented sending some of them as large as I should otherwise have done. I must beg leave still to believe we have it yet in our power to distinguish with great certainty our native vegetable productions from those exotics which have been introduced since *Columbus* discovered the Continent. If we went back to a much earlier period, and suppose this country was inhabited by a civilized people many centuries before the Columbian discovery, which some late discoveries strongly indicate, we must be involved in uncertainty; but, upon this supposition, we may have as good a claim to the Athenian title of *αυτοχθονες*, as any other country. I presume, however, you refer only to the impossibility of distinguishing the natives from those that have been introduced from the other side of the Atlantic, and become naturalized, since the country has been settled by Europeans. Those, I have no doubt, we have it in our power to distinguish.

Consider, my friend, the vast tract of wilderness which lies between the present settlements and the western ocean. In every parallel of latitude, from the southern to the northern boundaries of the United States, an uncultivated country extends for many hundreds, nay thousands of miles to the westward, covered with immense forests, unfrequented, and indeed, much unknown to the present European American inhabitants. The present settlements extend comparatively but a very little way from the sea-coast. It will surely be admitted that trees found in large forests, and in numerous places, whether of the same species of other countries or not, are indigenous.

Can it be questioned whether grasses and other vegetables are natives, which are found for many hundreds of miles back of settlements, on land that has been accidentally cleared of woods, in open swamps, and on the banks of rivers and lakes, etc., and in various parts of the wilderness?

In new plantations, 50 or 100 miles from settlements, may we not conclude, without hesitation, that those vegetable productions are native which immediately spring up in abundance, the seeds of which it can be made very certain were not conveyed by the settlers, for three or four of the first years? Should it be said that birds of passage may spread the seeds of naturalized plants in the wilderness, it may be answered that their flights are not in parallels of latitude, but, alternately, from colder to warmer climates.

Neither is there probability that those seeds which Nature has formed for being wafted by the winds are carried far, in this country, in a western direction; for easterly winds are not frequent, never last many hours, are generally attended with excessive rains. North America, from the latitude of the most southern to that of the most northern boundaries of the United States, even including Canada, is so circumstanced at the present time, as leaves little more doubt of the possibility of distinguishing between the native and naturalized plants *now*, than at the first discovery; but I readily admit there is very little probability of its being asserted, for it requires much labor and attention, and so few are disposed, and so small is the encouragement, at present, for such kinds of exertions, that no person will be induced to attempt it with the necessary caution and accuracy.

You observe that the "greater part of the grain and hay growing in America have been imported from Europe." Of grain, we consider only the Indian corn as indigenous. Of grasses, very few kinds are cultivated in the Northern States. The red and white clover, one or two species of *Herd-grass*, or *Sextail*, are the principal.

The two species of trefoil undoubtedly are native, for they abound in new settlements in the eastern, northern, and western parts of N. England; they are the first grasses that appear in the uplands after they are cleared; pastures and fields are covered with them the second and third years after the growth of the wood is removed, where the seed has not been introduced, and are found many hundred miles in the wilderness to the westward. The herd's grass is said to have been found growing native far back in the wilderness, but I am not certain of its being a fact; perhaps these may be different species from the European. *Fowl meadow-grass* is cultivated in wet meadows, produces great crops, and makes good cut-hay for cows. It was certainly in the country when discovered by Europeans, for the first emigrants from Europe, who landed at Plymouth (where the first settlement was made in this state), found it, the second summer, in a very large meadow, in *Dedham*. The meadow was full of this grass, and the growth most luxuriant. It is said not to have been found growing native in any other meadow in this part of the country, but has since been cultivated through the N. England States.

This meadow afforded the first settlers in that vicinity a great plenty of good hay, and still exceeds any other in the quantity it produces without the least cultivation. In the spring and autumn, when the river which runs through it overflowed its banks, it was observed by the first settlers to abound with water-fowl, hence it was called fowl-meadow, and the grass *fowl meadow-grass*. The seeds of this grass have been sent to Europe—have been cultivated in France. We have several species of grass, generally known by the name of *English grass*, which have been cultivated, but are now much neglected. They are, however, very much spread over the old settlements, but are not to be found in the new plantations, only where seed has been introduced. These naturalized plants may, with little difficulty, be distinguished from natives. It was fully my intention to have examined the grasses and plants of the *crypt. class*, and to have preserved specimens, but some unexpected domestic affairs crowded upon me early in the spring, and unavoidably employed so much of my time as to oblige me totally to give up botanical pursuits for the season.

I have therefore done so little in the investigation of grasses, that I shall not attempt to give you any particular account of them, nor can I send you specimens, but expect to be able to convince you that the number of native grasses can not be much inferior to that of other countries. . . .

It has not been in my power to pay that attention to the vegetables of this country, which is absolutely necessary to distinguish with accuracy the naturalized from the natives. No botanist can do this without frequent excursions into remote plantations and various parts of the wilderness.

For want of time and opportunity to explore parts more remote, I doubt not a number may be inserted in my paper as natives which it will be found are not; but still I have no idea of any insuperable difficulties in making the distinctions.

It has been no small mortification to me not to have examined plants of the *crypt. class* the last summer, especially as you wish for specimens. In the spring I collected a small number of Ferns, but not having it in my power to take proper care of them they were spoiled.

On receiving your letter, I immediately made a collection of such as I could find. Unfortunately we had just before two or three pretty severe frosts, which wholly destroyed many Ferns. When collecting the Ferns it did not occur to me that the flowers of some of them were found at the roots, and that in some instances specific characters are taken from the roots. How far either is the case in these I send you, I am unable to say, for I have not been able to examine them with any attention, nor have I attempted to arrange them. You will find among the Ferns, I presume, and perhaps among the others, that each member is not a different species, but as they were found in different places, and suspected, different species, or, at least, varieties, I have packed them separately.

This collection was made in great haste, and only within the compass of 3 or 4 miles, it therefore contains but a small part of our *crypt.* plants; besides, many in the same limits, were not in a state for collecting specimens. I have reserved similar specimens, numbered with the same numbers, and beg you to be so kind as to inform me what you find them to be.

"In my specimens I always notice on the label the place where it was gathered." I always do the same. In my botanical paper it is mentioned in the introductory part that the most of the plants were found growing within the compass of a few miles; to all those that were found at a greater distance, the name of the place of growth is added. This I supposed to be sufficiently particular in a publication of this kind.

"The English names should be distinguished as European or American." There has been so much confusion in the application of English names to American plants, that the British Am. names can be distinguished only by British catalogues. Some note of distinction might be made in publications, but perhaps would not be in every instance strictly just.

"The titles of order, class, and genera should form a part of the running title." Such a running title as this was intended, and prepared, but my distance from the press rendered it impracticable for me to correct the sheets, and from the difficulties that had attended the preceding papers, I had reason to expect gross mistakes, which induced me to omit it.

"In your account of the virtues, it would be agreeable to us on this side the Atlantic to know precisely what is from American and what from European information." It is not possible to know with precision from whence such information is obtained, except in a few instances. It may be well known that certain plants are employed for certain purposes, and if such virtues are to be found in European authors, it may be presumed that the information was derived from them, but it will be by no means certain. In some instances, we are well assured, the information is from the aborigines; in a few others, that it is from the American inhabitants; but, in general, we are unable to determine. In my account I have mentioned from whence the information was derived, so far as I was assured of it.

The Indian physicians, who have the best knowledge of the virtues of plants, by being conversant with Americans, have obtained a smattering of the uses to which Europeans and Americans have applied them, and have so blended this knowledge with their own, that I frequently find it very difficult to discriminate, in my attempts to ascertain the properties and uses of vegetable productions which the natives themselves had discovered. . . .

Give me leave now to reply to some of the remarks you have made on the Memoirs of the Academy. You object to the title as savoring too much of the air of France, and as improper when applied to a Society. You will recollect that the American Academy was instituted at a time (1780) when Britain was viewed in this country as an inveterate enemy, and France as a generous patron. Although philosophers ought to divest themselves of all those prejudices which national contentions and combinations naturally excite, yet I doubt not it was the intention of those concerned in establishing the institution to give it the air of France, rather than that of England, and wished to be considered as following the Royal Academy, rather than the Royal Society. But, however this might be, it was of importance that the title should clearly and concisely distinguish this from a similar institution at Philadelphia, whose title was professedly copied from the Royal Society.

For the sake of such distinction between the Vols. of these societies, the title of Memoirs was given to our Vol., in preference to that of Transactions.

As I had no concern in the institution of the Society, I can only give you my conjectures; but I am inclined to be of the opinion that those who gave it the title had no idea of the distinction you make between an Academy and Society; at least, it is new to me. The *Akademia* at Athens, surely, was no more than a public school, bearing the name of a certain person, and does not necessarily include the idea of the members being paid by the State. And Academies of Arts and Sciences, in a modern sense, I conceive, intend no more than Societies instituted for promoting certain branches of knowledge; that the title of Academy is equally proper, whether the Society is supported by its own members, by private donations, or public funds; that Society is the usual term for establishments of the kind in G. Britain, and Academy in the other parts of Europe, and that the members of those Societies in Europe frequently are paid by the State—in G. Britain are not—but that pay is not essential to their receiving the title of Academy.

With regard to the defects you notice in the Vol., I can give you a more particular account, having been concerned in the publication myself. We have been sensible of all those you mention, and many others, but have been so circumstanced as to render it impossible seasonably to correct or avoid them. It is not easy for you, sir, who live in a country where literature has so much encouragement, and has arrived at so great perfection, to conceive the difficulties we have had to encounter in this publication. No book of equal magnitude in size or numbers, or in any respect similar, had ever been published in this part of America—the Academy had no fund, few of its members conversant with the publications of such Societies, printers men of small capital, no aid to be obtained from men of fortune, those concerned in directing and those in executing the work much unacquainted with such an undertaking; in short, the publication has been a mere experiment.

But I can not give you any just idea of the matter without entering into a detail of the particulars, which, I fear, will be tedious, though it may be necessary, in order to do justice to the society.

Some time before the Academy had the printing a volume in contemplation, three Committees were appointed for certain purposes: the first, called Astronomical and Mathematical; the second, Physical; third, Medical. When it was determined to print a Volume, these three Committees were directed to select papers from the files for publication. Each of the Committees naturally took the papers for inspection which belonged to their respective departments. Of course, the papers were thrown into three divisions. When the papers were selected, a convention of the three Committees was held, to make the necessary adjustments for publication. As the papers were in three divisions, and appearing on several accounts eligible, it was agreed to make a general, not a critical, arrangement of them in the Vol., in the order they then were. It has since appeared that only one of the members on those Committees had an idea of dividing the Vol. into parts, but their intention was that the papers should succeed each other in that order. It was at the same time agreed that each Committee should arrange their own papers and prepare them for the press; that the title of each paper, running title, date of reading, and the table of contents, should be conformable to the Transactions of the R. S. A person was appointed to prepare a preface; another an index. The respective Committees were to deliver their papers to a Committee in Boston, appointed to correct the press (the most of the members of the Committees living out of Boston), who were to deliver them to the printers. The Astronomical and Mathematical papers were to be first inserted. The member of that Committee who was desired to prepare their papers for the press delivered them with a Part I., a general running title, without the date of reading, or giving the titles of papers in the form agreed on. This was not known to the other members of these Committees till after a number of papers were printed off, but, when discovered, was much regretted.

The Physical Committee (of which I was a member) had serious thoughts of continuing their papers with inserting a Part II., and of having Part I. inserted in the table of errata. It was, however, finally concluded to insert it; but they determined to conform to agreement in titles of papers and running title. The date of reading having been so far omitted, and most of the papers having some kind of date, it was thought best not to insert it in the remaining papers. This part of the work suffered much by being in so many hands, and those mostly at considerable distance from each other.

Another Committee was appointed to make choice of a printer and engraver, and contract for the execution of the work, of which I happened to be one.

Accordingly, printers were contracted with for printing 600 pages. The quality of the paper, type for the body of the work and marginal notes, size of the paper, scabbording of the lines, the type for the preface (which was to be larger than the others), scabbording of the preface, statutes, etc., type for the index of a size different from the others, and form of printing it, were all particularly specified in the contract. Fonts of the several types were sent for and received from London, agreeable to contract. The Vol. was advertised at 16*s*. L. money (12*s*. sterling), bound and lettered, and 12*s*. L. M. (9*s*. sterling), in sheets, and 1,200 copies subscribed for.

The work was committed to the press, but before it was completed, we found ourselves exceedingly embarrassed by attempting to arrange our papers. Pages filled up faster than we expected; Astronomical and Math. papers occupied too great a proportion of the Vol.; many papers we had selected must be omitted, and some of them preferable to some of those that had been inserted.

But our greatest embarrassment was from the printers, who, being young and ambitious of having the work, had incautiously contracted at too low a price; their stock not equal to the expense; no money could be received from subscribers until the Vol. was completed.

The work stopped before the body of it was finished, and no provision made for extra expenses. In addition to this, the engraver, with whom we had contracted for a copper-plate for the title-page and six for the body of the Vol., found the sum that had been proposed (for it had not been absolutely fixed) inadequate to the labor and expense, and required an additional sum. It was also found that a number of pages, more than 600, must be added to the Vol., or it could not be completed, even without an index. Our only alternative was to let the Vol. remain in its present state, in which case the printers must become bankrupt, or obtain a sum of money sufficient to complete it. We chose the latter, but our only possible way of obtaining it was by a free contribution from a few members of the society. A sum was raised, but not sufficient to complete the Vol. agreeable to the original plan. We were, therefore, reduced to the disagreeable necessity of omitting the index, of having the preface, statutes, etc., printed as they are, and a type metal (not a "wooden") cut for the title-page.

You object to the aristocratic spirit that seems to pervade the whole "of the institution." I have only to observe that the statutes, nearly as they now stand, were passed at the time the society was first organized, which was before I was connected with it, not being a member myself until the first election of members. I have never heard the objection made before, notwithstanding the high democratic spirit that prevails among every class of men in this country.

Consent of council to nominations, previous to their being proposed to the Academy, is a later regulation, founded on certain local circumstances. Visitors are readily admitted whenever they wish to be present at the meetings of the Academy. The article, however, you object to, strikes me disagreeably, and I wish it was abrogated. Officers may certainly be unfaithful when annually elected, as well as when their office is perpetual. Atheists surely can have no objection to an oath as a political formality, and an affirmative is ever admitted as a Quaker's oath in this country.

In the northern part of the State of N. Hampshire is a mountain called White Mountain, about 150 miles north of this town, which is undoubtedly the highest in any of the United States. It is the intention of Mr. Samuel Vaughan, of Philadelphia, and myself, to ascend this mountain the next summer, for the purpose of taking the baromet. height, and exploring the natural productions of the mountain, and those in its vicinity.

Mr. Vaughan is a native of London, has spent several years in different parts of Europe, and, if I mistake not, has mentioned to me his being of your acquaintance. Mineralogy has been his favorite study. We propose making Animals, Vegetables, and Fossils objects of attention. Should you have any views we can answer, you have only to intimate them.

To give you some idea of the mountain, I beg leave to mention that I visited it two years ago, in company with two other gentlemen. My intention was to measure the altitude of the highest summit by corresponding barometrical and thermom. observations at the base and summit, and to make a geometrical at the base, after the same manner that Sir Geog. Shuckburgh measured two of the Alps in 1775 and '76. In addition to the instruments for measuring the height, I furnished myself with several others for making experiments and observations on the side and summit of the mountain.

We arrived at the part of the mountain whence we were to ascend, on the evening of the 23d of July. Our way from the last habitation to this place, which was about 8 miles, was so extremely rugged as to be almost impassable; so excessive were some of the precipices, that the men who carried our instruments were unable to prevent their receiving repeated injuries, and were so unfortunate as to render one Barometer and Thermometer useless. By the accident I was prevented taking corresponding observations. The next morning we ascended the mountain with the other Barometer and Thermometer, and, after an incessant and most fatiguing march of more than seven hours, our guides conducted us to the highest summit.

Our intention was first to gain the summit, and then begin our observations. The morning was rather unfavorable, though the sun generally shone clear during our ascent. In the middle of the upper region we passed through many detached clouds, some of which were more than 1,000 feet below us before we reached the summit. The phenomenon of the evaporation from the deep extensive valleys behind us had a most delightful effect. The vapors, as they ascended, condensed into clouds of various forms, which moved in every possible direction, and in a kind of regular confusion; the sun at the same time shining clear upon their upper surfaces, exhibiting a curious appearance. As soon as they had discharged their water in showers below, they dissipated, when a new process immediately commenced.

But the summit presented the grandest scene I ever beheld. Our horizon was about 400 miles, a small section of which was formed by the sea, 75 miles distant.

The craggy tops of numerous mountains within our view were now depressed nearly to a plain; the eye extended over immense forests of woods, variegated with different shades of green, interspersed with a few scattered plantations, with lakes of various sizes, and large rivers, now and then showing themselves in their meanders toward the sea.

But we were soon deprived of this most pleasing prospect by being enveloped in a kind of fog, so dense as to obscure objects at a few feet distant, which came up the opposite side of the mountain.

We had no rain here, but in our descent we first perceived a mist, then small rain, and at the lower edge of the cloud exceedingly heavy rains. Such was the state of our instruments, and the atmosphere, that we made no pretensions to an accurate measurement. We were, however, able to determine that the height of the mountain must be near 10,000 feet from the level of the sea. The cold was so intense, though the thermometer did not range lower than 44°, that we almost lost the use of our fingers. This was owing to the profuse sweats we had undergone in our ascent.

The mountain may properly be divided into 3 regions or zones, which are most accurately defined: 1st. Covered with a thick growth of wood; 2d. With mosses and a variety of other small vegetables; the 3d, above the limits of vegetation, covered 10 or 11 months in the year with snow. In the middle region I found a considerable number of vegetables in blossom, which were different from any I had seen. Of these I collected specimens for examination, but the heavy rain and extreme fatigue deprived me of the treasures, and obliged us to spend one of the most rainy nights I ever knew in the open air a little below the middle region. From this time excessive rains continued for several days—the top of the mountain was constantly hid in clouds, which prevented a geometrical measurement. We, however, encompassed the base of the mountain, about 60 miles, and in our way observed sundry animals and vegetables which I have not seen in any other part of the country.

Our plan for another tour is formed very different from the last. We shall endeavor to provide against those accidents which have so unfortunately defeated our intentions, and make provisions for a much longer tarry, if necessary, in the neighborhood of the mountains.

Any hints for experiments and observations of any kind we shall receive with pleasure.

Mr. Adams, the American Minister at the British Court, was so obliging as to send me the last summer the latest editions, which the persons he employed could find of *Lin. Gen. Plant* and *Syst. Nat.* The *Gen. Plant*, "*editio novissima*," printed at Vienna, 1767, *Syst. Nat., ed. B., Vindobonæ* .70. Are these the latest editions? *Species Plant* was not to be found, nor any of the books on the plants of N. America.

He sent me, though I did not write for it, the *Trans. Syst. Veget*, by the Society at Lichfield.

I communicated to Mr. Eliot the part of your letter which related to him, and he has promised to write by the first opportunity.

Your last letter being directed to me in N. Hampshire, occasioned its traveling so far in the mail beyond me as prevented my receiving it so early by several days as I should otherwise have done. You will therefore give me leave to mention that Ipswich is one of the shire towns, in the county of Essex, in the State of Massachusetts, 22 miles N.N.E. from Boston, which, if you favor me with another letter, may prevent the like accident.

I am, with the greatest respect, sir,

Your most obedient, humble servant,

DR. JONATHAN STOKES. M. CUTLER.

[*From Dr. Stokes.*]

KIDDERMINSTER, WORCESTERSHIRE, ENG., *Jan.* 12, 1788.

Dear Sir:— . . . Mr. Pennant, the zoologist, to whom I lent the Mem. of the American Academy, requested to know whether I thought it probable you were in possession of his Arctic Zoology, adding that in case you might not have got the work that he would be happy to present you with a copy of it. I took the liberty of saying that I thought it would afford you much pleasure to be made acquainted with one who had done so much in illustrating the Zoology of N. America, and that however jealous I might be, as a botanist, of your attention being drawn aside to other objects, yet as a lover of Nat. History I should rejoice in thinking that I had proved the accidental means of inducing the first Linnæan botanist of N. England to introduce among his countrymen the true principles of systematic zoology. . . .

Dear sir, your faithful and obedient servant,

JONATHAN STOKES.

P. S.—The Constitution of the United States pleases me much, but you ought to allow the people to have the power of appointing *Senators-extraordinary* in cases of exigency, as of war, or national distresses. Your Senate is equivalent in such situations to our Cabinet Council, and it is well known how much often depends on one individual, such as Neckar, Lord Chatham, or his son, Mr. Pitt. You allow of a Generalissimo during the same period, but not of a Prime Minister. We hope you will teach us how to abolish imprisonment for debt by making all property responsible for the payment of debt. Howard's excellent book must have informed you of the miseries suffered in Europe on this account. Slavery should be the punishment of the great crimes, and capital punishment abolished.

[*To Dr. Stokes.*]

HAMILTON, LATELY A PARISH OF IPSWICH,
NOW AN INCORPORATED TOWN, *Nov.* 15, 1793.

Dear Sir:— . . . Please to accept my most sincere thanks for your last letters, and the 3d Vol. of your Botanical Arrangement, and your obliging attention to the specimens I sent you. Your remarks have afforded me much information, although I have been able to attend very little to Nat. History for several years past, and have collected few specimens the last summer. I will forward you a packet of those I most wish you to examine, and which I presume will be most pleasing to you. How well I am supplied with specimens of our medical plants, I am unable to determine until I examine, but will forward you all of that description which I have by me. It gives me much pleasure to find you are engaged in a *Materia Medica.* If you should not be too far advanced, I think I could furnish you with many valuable specimens, which I have not now by me, of plants highly esteemed in this country for their medical properties, in the course of the next summer.

Have you any particular process or method for ascertaining the prevailing properties of individual plants? Have you seen *Schoepf's Materia Medica Americana*, printed in 1787? This small work was lately sent me by my friend, Dr. Henry Muhlenburg, of Lancaster, in Pennsylvania, who, by the way, is a good botanist, and about to publish an account of the native grasses and some other plants of Pennsylvania; but I have not yet had leisure to peruse it sufficiently to venture an opinion of its merit. I would cheerfully send you this book, if I knew how to replace it. It is doubtless to be had in London. My friend writes me that the author spent seven years in this country, and much of his time with him.

I will now attend to the inquiries in your last letter. My answer to your observations respecting the specimens must be deferred until I look over my specimens. By "*old fields*," we mean lands that have been in a state of cultivation for several years until they are worn out, and are then left to recruit, without being seeded. Farmers frequently lay down land, as it is commonly termed, without seeding it, to recruit, being too much exhausted to produce a crop of any kind of grass at first. Various kinds of grasses, however, and other vegetables, spring up spontaneously, and after a number of years it will be swarded over, and is then kept for mowing or is plowed again. By "warm, moist places," I intend moist or springy land, declining southerly, open to the sun, and a rich soil, not subject to be overrun with mosses or those vegetables growing in land moistened with cold springs, as is the case with almost all our swamps.

"Woodland"—tracts of woodland never yet cleared, but kept inclosed for a supply of fuel and timber.

"Can you give me, in a few words, the good or ill effects arising from having no particular religion established?" We experience no ill effects. Experience has demonstrated that religious establishments are not only unnecessary, but injurious to civil society. We have undergone nearly as great a revolution in our religious as in our political state. The first settlers in New England were rigid dissenters, illiberal, and intolerant. Religion was interwoven with politics, and the Clergy acquired an ascendency over the civil ruler. The progress of information had produced a considerable change before the revolution commenced, but in Massachusetts the Congregationalists were the favorites of Government, and every other denomination was considered as dissenters from them. The war with Great Britain produced a general combination of all characters and parties in the common cause, which tended, among other causes, to diminish former distinctions and prejudices, and prepared the way for just reasoning and liberality of sentiment, both in religion and politics.

In the constitution of this Commonwealth, which was the first that was framed on the principles of independence, great exertions were made by the best informed of our clergy, as well as others, to obtain an entire separation of religion and politics. This object was obtained, with the only exception of a disgraceful religious test.

Our laws equally provided for the support and protection of the clergy of all denominations. Every citizen is at full liberty to embrace what sentiments and what schemes of religion he pleases, without public disturbance of the peace of Society. The consequence has been much greater harmony among all the different sects and denominations of Christians, less of religious controversy, and the spirit of persecution, with its attendant train of evils, is fled from us. The clergy of all descriptions frequently associate. Those of the Church of England and Dissenters in many instances exchange and preach one for the other, on Sundays. The people of all denominations occasionally worship together.

In New England, the clergy are very decently supported. In most parishes, the livings are equal, and in some superior, to the most wealthy of the parishioners. We have enthusiasts and fanatics, but they are evidently decreasing. No country can boast of a greater number of learned, judicious, and liberal clergymen in proportion to the number of people, nor of greater friendship and affection among them, nor where religious worship is more generally attended by all classes of citizens without any compulsion. The happy effects on society are apparent. Good morals are the basis of a free government. Weekly associations, in an orderly and decent manner, tend much to improve social virtues, and have greater influence on manners and habits conducive to the happiness of society than coercive laws.

Experiment has also demonstrated the excellence of our National Government. It is energetic in its operations; it equally protects the lives, property, and privileges of all descriptions of citizens. The people are informed in detail, through the public prints, of all the doings of the several branches of government (with only the exception of some secrets in foreign negotiation), particularly the state of the Treasury and application of public moneys. By the judicious arrangement of an able financier, we are happily relieved from any direct tax, yet our national debt is sinking, and the public credit the best in the country. Our impost, with a small excise on spirituous liquors, raises a fund which has proved sufficient for all our national purposes. A small direct tax on polls, personal and real estate, is raised by the people in towns and parish corporations, for the support of clergymen, schools, and other contingent expenses. These are all the taxes paid by the people. In short, the happy effects of our government is sensibly felt and universally acknowledged by the common people. They are doing themselves much honor in their choice of members of Congress. Elections in the northern states are perfectly free. An attempt to make interest is held in so much detestation as to be considered and treated as a disqualification for a seat in Congress. The wisdom of the states has been hereto well represented in Congress.

Among other excellencies of our Constitution, the three branches, distinct and independent, are the most important. Here France has failed. Their last Constitution is reprobated in America. Several states have made the experiment of one branch, but all have now exchanged them for three. The French Constitution of 1791, so far as the experience of Americans will decide, was incomparably better than their last. We wish them to be free, but we regret that so noble a cause should be so much injured by their madness.

We have been extremely apprehensive of being drawn into the war by the impertinent and ill-judged conduct of the French Minister, Genet. Too much praise can not be given to our beloved President for his vigilance and prudence. Some public marks of esteem for the French nation were expressed to this meddling minister, as he traveled through the country to the seat of government, and seemed to have inflated his vanity—he rose like a balloon; he set every body gazing. The public papers groaned with the labor of political scribblers. And when forbidden to fit out privateers in our ports, he threatened to appeal from the President to the people. His gas is now pretty well expended, and he has descended into universal contempt.

May Heaven avert the evils of a war with any part of Europe. We are happily out of the vortex of their politics, and nothing but the highest national insults would induce the government to draw the sword.

The freedom of the press in this country has no other restraint than the good sense of the people. Unmerited abuse always meets with deserved contempt. The fear of offending the public is the only restraint on printers.

I thank you for the honor you intended by the proposed name to a plant, which turns out to be Hudsonia ericoides.

The Hudsonia, of which I shall send you a specimen, is called Sand-bind, from the circumstance of its being found only on the seashore, in a loose sand, subject to be blown about by the wind, but confined by the plant. . . .

With great respect, sir, your humble servant,

M. Cutler.

[*To Dr. Stokes.*]

Hamilton, *May* 15, 1805.

My Dear Sir:— . . . You say: "By this time, I should suspect your system of politics must have undergone somewhat of a revolution. Washington gave freedom to his slaves at his death, but the pacific and democratic Jefferson retains his in servitude." At present, there is no hope that the unhappy Africans in this country will be liberated, or the importation diminished. The democratic notions which have so unfortunately divided the people in this country, and led them off from the true federal principles (the only principles on which a free government can exist), threaten us with the same issue as in France. We are progressing rapidly to a despotic government, and the democratic Mr. Jefferson will probably be our first Emperor. The plant of freedom is withering in this country, and "Crown Imperial" will occupy the ground.

The present instability of our government forbids the hope of a botanical garden at Washington, and the legislature are far from being disposed to encourage improvements in science.

At Cambridge, however, we have the prospect of such an establishment. The plants you mention for Washington will be gratefully received to enrich this garden, and the aid of the friends to such establishments in Europe is earnestly solicited. . . . The last winter I had the pleasure of forming an acquaintance with a lady who has a fine taste for Botany, the lady of your Minister Plenipotentiary, Mrs. Merry. She is making progress, and is indefatigable in her attention to the plants of this country.

With great respect, your humble servant,

M. CUTLER.

[*From Mrs. Merry* (*Wife of the British Minister*).]

WASHINGTON, *May* 17, 1806.

TO DR. CUTLER.

My Dear Sir:—A few days since, I had the pleasure to receive a letter from Mr. Barclay, informing me that your present to me was safely arrived, and should be shipped by the first Vessel that sailed for England. Allow me to offer my sincere thanks for your great bounty to me, and to beg I may have the pleasure of sending you, in return, from England, any seeds or plants you may wish for.

We shall probably sail for England next month; we are already packed up, and only await the arrival of Lord Selkirk, to embark. I think with pleasure of cultivating the American plants, and have some hope Mr. Merry will not be immediately employed, so I can enjoy my chief delight, my garden and my farm.

From the Botanical Garden at Cambridge I have received one hundred and fifty different sorts of seeds. Will any of them be acceptable to you? If so, I shall have pleasure in sending them by the first safe conveyance.

If Withering's Botany will be useful, I will send it at the same time, having two Editions?

Mr. Merry joins me in best wishes for your health and happiness, and I remain, my dear sir,

Your obliged friend and servant,
ELIZ'TH MERRY.

P. S.—I beg a line from you soon. I do not yet know at what Port we shall embark.

[*From Samuel Vaughan, Jr.*]

PHILADELPHIA, *April* 4, 1787.

Dear Sir:—I am extremely sorry that some unexpected affairs oblige me very suddenly to embark for England, and from whence I shall not be able to return before the fall of the year. As I had engaged to furnish a considerable part of the instruments necessary for our expedition,* I presume it may make an alteration in your intentions; and, if you delay until the ensuing year, I still shall propose the pleasure of being of your party. I have not received the letter and packet I was to forward to Europe for you, and it is unfortunate, considering my present destination. I shall, however, leave word that, if they arrive, they may be sent after me. If you have not sent them, you had better send them to me in London from Boston, if an opportunity offers shortly, directed as under these lines. I am afraid my absence will be of another inconvenience to you. That, as many things are expected out for me, my friends here will not be able to distinguish the microscope and books intended for you. I will, however, take what measures I can to arrange matters to your satisfaction.

I beg my respects to Mrs. Cutler, and remain,

Dear Sir, your most ob't serv't,
SAMUEL VAUGHAN, JR.

REV. MR. MANASSEH CUTLER.

---

* A contemplated expedition to the White Mountains.

P. S.—Count Castiglioni goes in the packet now about to sail for France, on his way to Spain.

Your pamphlets arrived a few hours before my intended departure for Europe. I shall carry them myself, and distribute them by different means.
S. V., Jun.

[*To Mr. Samuel Vaughan, Jr.*]

Ipswich, *Apr.* 10, 1789.

My Dear Sir:—You have highly gratified me by sending the box of E. India seeds. Every attention shall be given them in my power. By this I forward you one of my botanical papers for the French King's Botanist at Port au Prince, and you will much increase my obligations for past favors by opening a channel by which I may have it in my power to make a trial of East India Plants, or any other exotics. Please to present my most respectful compliments to Mr. Nectu, and inform him that letters and Packages addressed to Hon. Thos. Russell, Esq., in Boston, will be forwarded to me immediately.

I have been honored with a very complaisant letter from the Chevalier Murray, with a present of some of his late publications. He desires his compliments very particularly to you, if in this country, but supposes you are in London. The package was very obligingly forwarded to me by Sir Joseph Banks. Dr. Franklin has also favored me with an extract from a letter he received from M. Le Roi. He has been so obliging as to procure me a correspondence with Messrs. Jussieu and Thanin. From the other gentlemen in Europe I have no answers.

It is not my intention to go into the Western Country at present. Circumstances have taken place since my return from Marietta, on the Ohio, which render it uncertain whether I shall ever leave this part of the country. Pray let me know whether you intend to reside in America, or return to Europe.

I am, with much esteem, my dear Sir,

Your most affectionate friend and humble serv't,

Mr. Samuel Vaughan, Jr. M. Cutler.

June 29, 1789.

I very unfortunately missed the opportunity I expected to send this by a vessel at Salem, since which I have been disappointed a second time. I have now taken the liberty to inclose it to my friend Mr. Hazard. I also inclose, in consequence of an order of the Am. Acad. of A. and S., a certificate of membership for your Honored Father.

[*From Mr. Samuel Vaughan, Jr.*]

New York, *Nov.* 7, 1789.

Dear Sir:—Your favor of the 10th of April was not received from Mr. Hazard till about the middle of July, he being uncertain whether I was still here. Since then, my attentions have been taken up by a sick father, and unusual avocations, so that it has been out of my power to write you.

The catalogue I shall send to Mr. Nectu. I wish I had one or two more. There is a gentleman in St. Domingo who can more effectually serve you than Mr. Nectu, to whom I should send one. I thank you for your care of the seeds, and hope that you will let me know the result of the experiment. I am happy to hear you have commenced a correspondence with Chevalier Murray. You will find Jussieu and Thanin the first people in this line in France. The Certificate my Father has received, and would have acknowledged it, but is incapable, under his present indisposition, of writing. He would be glad, therefore, if you would charge yourself with his thanks to the Soc'y for the honor conferred on him.

I am happy, very happy indeed, to hear of your determination to stay on this side of the Mountains, confident that you must be of more use to society than had you continued firm in your first resolution. I wish I could inform you that I was to remain here; but the situation of Family Property, being Estates in the Island of Jamaica, oblige me to make a temporary residence there. In two or three years, however, I hope to take my permanent abode on this Continent. In perhaps less than a month, I sail. All letters addressed to me through my Brother John, whose address you have, will reach me.

Present my respects to Mrs. Cutler, Mr. Holyoke and family, and Mr. Prince. I remain, dear Sir,

Your very sincere friend and serv't,

SAMUEL VAUGHAN, JR.

REV. MR. MANASSEH CUTLER.

[*To Dr. Baird, Washington, Pa.*]

IPSWICH, MASSACHUSETTS, *Nov.* 12, 1788.

Sir:—I inclose you a letter from my good friend, Major Tupper,* which he was so polite as to give me when I was at Muskingum, and which I fully intended to have had the pleasure of delivering with my own hand; but I was so circumstanced, when I returned from Muskingum, that it was not in my power to call upon you. Major Tupper informs me you are well versed in botany, and have done much in examining the vegetables of the western country. I was anxious, especially on this account, to have been honored with a personal acquaintance, as I am desirous of being informed of the generic characters of a number of plants which I met with in your country, that were at that time out of blossom.

---

*Major Anselm Tupper, eldest son of General Benjamin and Huldah (White) Tupper, was born in Easton, Massachusetts, 1763. His father went into the American army at the outbreak of the Revolution. Soon after, young Anselm, then not twelve years old, enlisted in a company, which was assigned to the regiment in which his father was Major. He remained in service during the entire war, participating in all the battles of his regiment; was promoted to Ensign, 1779, and Lieutenant and Adjutant, 1780. In 1785, he was employed in the survey of the first seven ranges of the North-west Territory, and spent the winter of 1786 and 1787 in Washington, Pennsylvania, making plats. Upon the organization of the Ohio Company, he was appointed one of its surveyors, and came with the first party to Marietta, April 7, 1788. During the Indian war, 1791 to 1795, he held the rank of Major. In 1804, as second officer of the ship Orlando, built at Marietta, he sailed down the Ohio and Mississippi rivers, across the Atlantic ocean, up the Mediterranean and Black seas, to Trieste. He died at Marietta, 1808.

Either during, or immediately after the Revolution, he acquired an excellent education. "He had great proficiency in mathematics, and was also something of a poet. . . . He is said to have possessed a polished address and fine intellectual ability, and was a great favorite in society. He never married."—*See Chaffin's History of Easton, Mass.*

While I was at the Muskingum, my time was so constantly occupied with business that I had no leisure for botanical inquiries, and only minuted the characters of a small number then in bloom. I shall therefore consider it as a particular favor if you will be so kind as to send me the generic and specific characters of such plants as you have found peculiar to that part of America; or, if so particular a description will intrude too much on your time, please to favor me with the Linnæan generic and specific names.

On my return from Muskingum, I collected a small number of specimens of plants, of which I had no opportunity of examining the fructification. A plant called *Indian Physic*, or *Indian Root;* it blossoms, I believe, early in the year, for the seed was ripe in August. I was inclined to think it might prove the *Triosteum* of Linnæus—False Ipecacuanha—but neither the capsule nor seed appear to correspond with his generic characters. The root seems to be emetic, though I have made no other experiment than by chewing it in my mouth. I found it in plenty near Mr. Prather's, at Buffalo Creek, and in many other places on high land. I will thank you for generic characters, and for any particulars relating to its use in medicine.

Another plant, the characters of which I wish much to know, is called, at Fort Harmar, *Red Root.* I found it in many places on the bottoms on Muskingum River, but could see no appearance of bloom or seed; it undoubtedly blossoms very early. The Indians dye feathers, hair, porcupine's quills, etc., a most beautiful and permanent scarlet color with the roots, adding only some vegetable acid, most commonly that of the crab-apple. If you have not met with it, hope you will attend to it in the spring, and favor me with the characters. The knowledge of this plant may possibly prove a valuable acquisition to the United States. Of these two plants I inclose small specimens, that you may not mistake them. I likewise wish particularly to know what you find the *May-apple*, *Rich-weed*, and *Buffalo Clover* to be, and favor me with their characters.

To make the science of Botany of public utility, every attention ought to be paid to the specific properties of vegetables. The most imperfect hints of the uses to which they have been applied in medicine, and for other purposes, may be of service. The Indians are certainly possessed of important information in this respect. The vegetables, of which their materia medica is composed, are those, generally, I believe, that are possessed of very active properties, and they are acquainted with many plants that give excellent dyes of various colors.

You will very much oblige me by giving me any information of the medical and economical uses to which the Indians have applied any particular vegetable production. Your vicinity to the Indians is favorable for obtaining such information. I wish you to distinguish as accurately as possible between the information derived from the Indians, the Americans, or Europeans. I am the more solicitous to obtain the Indian uses of vegetables, as several eminent botanists in Europe have requested me to send them whatever I shall obtain of the uses to which they have applied them. But such information, besides gratifying our friends and correspondents abroad, may be turned, if properly improved, to great utility in America.

If it should be in my power to communicate any thing to you in the botanical line, I shall do it with pleasure. Perhaps you may be gratified with a description of some of the productions of this part of the country. The science of botany I think would be advanced in America if we were to ascertain the plants that are peculiar to the northern, southern, and western parts of the extensive territory, now subject to the United States. I have it in contemplation to publish a description of vegetable productions in this part of America on a plan different from what has yet been done in this country, and which, if the proposed correspondence meets with your approbation, I shall communicate to you in a future letter. If you should send a letter to Major Tupper, at Muskingum, it will be forwarded to me; or to Mr. Sumrell, who keeps the ferry called Sumrell's Ferry on Youghiogheny River. I have the honor to be, with the greatest respect,

Sir, your most obedient, humble servant,

DR. BAIRD. MANASSEH CUTLER.

[*To Baron Hermelin.*]

Jan. 6, 1790.

Sir:—By the direction of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences, I inclose you a Diploma in testimony of your being elected a member, which they beg you to accept as a mark of their high esteem of your literary character. While they do themselves the honor of enrolling your name on the list of their members, they entertain the hope it will not be displeasing to you. Any communications you may please to make will be gratefully received.

For several years past I have employed my leisure hours in the study of the natural history of this part of America. A botanical paper of mine was published in the 1st vol. of the Memoirs of the Academy. That was indeed an hasty and incorrect account of our vegetables. I have since pursued the study under better advantages, and propose not only to correct the errors in that paper, but to publish a work on the subject of our native plants of some magnitude. I should be happy, if it should be agreeable, to be favored with your correspondence, and ready to forward you any specimens of the animal, vegetable or fossil kingdoms, in my power, that are natives of this part of America.

I have the honor to be, with great respect, etc.,

M. Cutler.

Mr. Samuel Gustavus Hermelin, *Memb. Royal Academy of Sciences at Stockholm.*

[*From Benj. Smith Barton.**]

Philadelphia, *September* 22, 1792.

Reverend and Dear Sir:—I have waited with great impatience to hear from or of you. I presume you are engaged in matters of more consequence than mere letter writing, otherwise I should have probably had a letter from you. I had flattered myself that letters would occasionally pass between us, and in thus flattering myself I had promised myself a great deal of happiness.

---

*Benjamin Smith Barton, M. D., naturalist; born, Lancaster, Pa., Feb. 10, 1766; died, 19th Dec., 1815: son of Rev. Thomas Barton; his mother a sister of Rittenhouse, the mathematician. While a student in Pennsylvania College he accompanied Rittenhouse and other U. S. Commissioners to settle the boundary-line west of Pennsylvania. From 1786–89 he was studying medicine at Edinburg, London, and Goettingen, where he took the degree of M. D. He then settled in Philadelphia, where he soon acquired an extensive practice. In 1790

I long to see Linnæa. I have just been looking into Mr. Belknap's third Vol. He mentions some plants as natives of the State of New Hampshire, concerning which, I have no doubt, you will be able to give me more accurate information. Perhaps you can furnish me with specimens of them. Quercus pumila (p. 100), Inglans cinerea? (p. 100), Primis carix (p. 109), Ribes nigrum (p. 121), Ribes grosularia (p.121), Vaccinium oxycoccos (p. 121), Panax trifolium (p. 123), *Poke* (126), Actæa spicata (p. 127), Cliffortia trifoliate (p. 127). I am particularly desirous of having a specimen of the last-mentioned plant. Do endeavor to furnish me with one. Should you send me any of these plants, I shall be glad to know in what particular parts of your state you find them, and in what soils.

If I do not mistake, you have Podophyllum pettatum in your state. Have you learned that your physicians, or the country people, or the Indians, make any use of the root of this plant in medicine? I wish to be informed on this subject, as I have lately used the root, and find it a very reliable medicine. Have you Podophyllum diphyllum of Linnæus?

Specimens of any rare or new plants, of which you may have duplicates, will be very acceptable to me. In return, I shall be glad to send you any thing I can.

As my book will shortly be put to the press, I wish to receive your account of the circles, which you promised me.

I take the liberty of inclosing a few of my proposal papers. If you can advance my work without any trouble to yourself, I shall be glad of your friendly assistance.

Our common friend, Dr. Muhlenburg, of Lancaster, often inquires after you. He is a most worthy man.

---

appointed Professor of Natural History and Botany in the College of Philadelphia, and in 1813 was appointed Professor of Materia Medica. Author of works on botany, materia medica, etc.—*Drake's Dict. of Am. Biog.*

You have, no doubt, heard of the death of Dr. Murray, of Goettingen. His death I regret, for his labors were great; and he advanced the science of botany and medicine perhaps as much as any of his countrymen for these last twenty years. But our services in this world can not keep us here. An ampler field for the exertions and for the science of the good and the great is reserved for man in that *country of immortality* whither our fathers in science and in virtue have gone. Excuse me.

I wish to know whether your Boston Academy intend to publish a second volume soon. I hope you continue your botanical inquiries.

Should you write to me, direct to me, by post, in Philadelphia.

I remain, with affection and esteem, Rev'd and dear sir,
Your obedient and sincere friend, etc.,
BENJAMIN SMITH BARTON.

P. S.—Let me beg that you will favor me with a copy of your paper on the Plants of Massachusetts, if you have any of the papers left.

[*From Benj. Smith Barton.*]

(Without Date. Marked: "Recd. 18th Feby., '93.)

To THE REV. DR. MANASSEH CUTLER.

Reverend and Dear Sir:—Your letter, dated August 31st, accompanying the first volume of the Boston A. Transactions, and two dried specimens of vegetables, I received on the 20th of this month. I had previously written to you by a friend of mine who left Philadelphia about ten or eleven days since.

I greatly thank you for your attention in sending me the Transactions. It is a work which does the Academy honor. Your paper on the vegetables of your part of the country I am happy to possess, especially along with your own corrections and additions. I am not less indebted to you for your valuable communication respecting the works at Muskingum. Pray, who is in possession of the most accurate plan of these works. As my book will be accompanied with a plate of them, I should be glad to have it as complete as possible. Any information connected with my inquiries I shall be happy to receive and to acknowledge. But the sooner the better, as the book goes to press on Monday next. However, it will proceed but slowly, for some time at least. I think I sent you some proposal papers. By putting them in the hands of your printers, perhaps, you may advance the work.

I have read, with pleasure, the last volume of Mr. Belknap's History. I should be glad to be introduced to the knowledge of this gentleman by you. Will you be so kind as to ask him, for me, a small quantity of the earth of a peach-blossom color, which is found near the West River Mountain. I also wish specimens of the yellow earth found there, and any thing else illustrative of the mountain.

When does Dr. Morse intend to publish a new edition of his Geography. If any considerable delay is to be made, I may probably be of some service to the Doctor. Be so good as to make my compliments to him, and inform him that I shall be happy to attend to any queries which he may send me respecting the State of Pennsylvania.

I wish you would examine the Nymphia lutea which you have described in the Memoirs, and see how far it agrees with the N. advena of the Hortus Kewensis. I also wish you would examine your N. alba by the same book. I suspect it is N. odorata. But excuse my officiousness.

Linnea was very acceptable to me. What particular parts of your country seem to contain the greatest quantities of it? The other plant is Sewardia flava. We have it in Pennsylvania.

I should have less hesitation in requesting you to favor me with specimens of your native plants, if, in turn, you would endeavor to put me in a way of rendering some services to you.

Pray keep the Hortus Kewensis till you have finished it. I have not heard from Mr. Muhlenberg for some weeks.

I remain, dear sir, your affectionate friend and servant,

BENJAMIN SMITH BARTON.

P. S.—Do you know any thing in your State of the Roundhorned Elk, mentioned by Mr. Jefferson (Notes, p. 88)? Do inform me. I write in great haste. B. S. B.

[*From Rev. Dr. Muhlenberg.**]

LANCASTER, *Nov.* 12, 1792.

Dear Sir:—It is now very near a year since I had the Pleasure of receiving a noble collection of Grasses from your hands. I made bold to acknowledge the receipt immediatcly, with some observations and the seeds of the Avena elatior Linn. Since that, our correspondence has dropped, to my great sorrow. Whether my letter has miscarried, or, perhaps, your answer, I don't know, but I would be extremely glad if our correspondence could be renewed. Pardon an Enthusiasm for a science which has given me so many pleasant hours, and which I know you cultivate with great success. Botany wants your assistance, and when you have spread a full table, let me have some of the Fragments. You have made the beginning of a Flora Neo Anglica, and all the Lovers of Botany wish you may go on and finish the noble work. Let each one of our American Botanists do something, and soon the riches of America will be known. Let Mechaux describe South Carolina and Georgia; Kramsch, North Carolina; Greenway, Virginia and Maryland; Barton, Jersey, Delaware, and the lower parts of Pennsylvania; Bartram, Marshall, Muhlenberg, their Neighborhood; Mitchell, New York; and You, with the northern Botanists, your States—how much could be done! If, then, one of our younger Companions (I mention Dr. Barton, in particular, whose business it is) would collect the different Floras in one, how pleasing to the botanical world! We could exchange our *plantas adversarias* with one another, and in a short time all would be perfect. I have written to pretty near all the mentioned Gentlemen on this Head, and hope to receive their concurrence. Pray let me have your opinion on this subject.

---

*Dr. Henry Muhlenberg, born Nov. 17, 1753, in Pennsylvania; educated at the University of Halle, in Germany; returned to America; was ordained by the Lutheran Synod, and in 1774, became assistant to his father, then pastor of a Philadelphia congregation. When the city was occupied by the British, he retired to the country and devoted himself to the study of Botany. In 1780 he became pastor of the church in Lancaster, Pa., where he died, May 23, 1815. His scientific attainments were extensive, but in Botany he was especially distinguished. He became a member of the Am. Ph. Soc. in 1786; of the Philosophical and Physical Societies of Gottingen, in 1802; and other associations in Sweden and Germany. He published Catalogus Plantarum Americae Septentrionalis, 1813, and Discriptio Uberior Graminium.—*Am. Cyclopedia.*

I return to your above-mentioned collection, which I have since looked through very often. I have not found reason to alter my opinion in respect to any of the names, except Num. 41, Schreber names Poa nervosa, instead of nutans; Num. 34, Aira odorata; Num. 9–12 are new species; Num. 1 he calls heterophyllum. In a short time I expect from him a general collection of all foreign Grasses, and am therefore anxious to have as many American Grasses to compare with the former as possible. Will you pardon me if I repeat my former wish to get, through your kind assistance, of the New England Grasses, as many as can be found, in particular, of Grasses which grow near the Seashore. The Mosses, I am pretty well acquainted with, but have not a single one from any other State. Will you let me have a sight of some of your Country? I would be infinitely obliged to you for any of them. They take very little room of the Exemplar, if put up in a duodecimo leaf—it is large enough. You see how much I depend on the Friendship of Dr. Cutler.

Since Congress is met again, Mr. Muhlenberg,* my Brother, offers to be the mediator of our letters, and promises to forward them quick and safe. I shall embrace every opportunity to show how much I value your correspondence. Have you discovered nothing new since? I am pleased that in the new Edition of the Genera Plantarum our Swamp Cabbage (or Dracontium foetidum) is removed to the fourth Class, where, according to your observation, it belongs.

In a Dictionary called the New England Farmer, by Samuel

---

*Hon. Frederick A. Muhlenberg, of Lancaster, Pa., who was a member of the Continental Congress, 1779; member and Speaker of the Pennsylvania Legislature, 1781 to 1784; member of Congress, 1789 to 1797; and Speaker of the First and Third Congresses.—*Drake's Dict. American Biog.*

UNIVERSITY O
LIBRARY
ILLINOIS

Deane, I find several plants mentioned, of which I wish your opinion. What is Bird-grass, Redtop, Wire-grass, Dog-grass, Scratch-grass, Blue-jointed Grass, Goose-grass? What is wheat Plum, gray Oak? If possible, I would wish to have a leaf of every Oak with the Provincial names. The different sorts of Quercus, Inglans, Fraxinus are poorly described by Linnæus. Marshall has cleared up some of my Doubts, but not all. Have you perused the Arbustrum Aiton? Dr. Barton informs me, is now in your hands; how do you like him?

I see I begin to be talkative, and, for fear of trying your Patience, will drop the pen, but not without assuring you that I am, with the greatest esteem, sir,

Your most obedient, humble servant,

Henry Muhlenberg, D.D.

[*To Rev. Dr. Muhlenberg.*]

Ipswich, *Feb.* 27, 1793.

My Dear Sir:—Your very kind and pleasing favor of November 12th did not come to hand until yesterday. I sat down to answer it immediately, although I know not when an opportunity will present to forward my letter. So long an interruption in a correspondence highly pleasing to me gives me much pain. I hope it will be renewed, and letters and other communications frequently interchanged. Soon after I received your answer to mine, which accompanied the specimens, I wrote you, but my letter must have miscarried. Should have written you frequently since that time, but have been prevented by an unavoidable attention to the concerns of the Ohio Company, of which I have been so unfortunate as to be one of the Directors. This business detained me four months last year at Philadelphia and New York. After my return, the last summer and the present winter, I have been wholly occupied in bringing this unpleasant business to a close, which is now nearly accomplished.

For the last twelve months, I have scarcely read a page in any botanical author, or examined a single plant. In the spring, I hope to be able to renew my attention to botanical pursuits, and to forward you, by the first vessel that sails from

Salem to Philadelphia, a number of specimens. It will give me pleasure to furnish you with specimens of all our grasses, and particularly those near the sea-shore. Among my specimens, I have a collection of Salt Marsh grasses, but not the whole, to be found on the borders of creeks, beaches, etc. When I have made the addition which I hope to be able to collect, as soon as they are in a proper state, will embrace the first opportunity to forward them.

My collection of plants contains a large number of the Mosses. I shall be happy to furnish you with specimens. We have a very great variety of the *Felices and Musci.* Several of them are, I think, nondescripts. But I have not had leisure yet to examine them with much attention. I had not been informed of the *Dracontium fœtidum* being removed to the fourth class until I received your letter. I wish much to see the edition of the Gen. Plant. you mention, but doubt whether I shall have an opportunity very soon. What is it called? And what are the characters? In my botanical paper, I since find that I did not well express the Characters, nor was the expression well formed by which I meant to show it could not belong to the twentieth class.

Dr. Deane's Dictionary is well received, but I think it needs correction, and presume a second edition will be much better than the first. I am not able, at present, to inform you what either of those grasses are to which he has given the English names you mention, except wire-grass, which is Poa compressa. English names are so variably applied in this part of the country, that nothing is to be known by them. I am uncertain what he intends by the Wheat-plum. The gray oak, I am inclined to think, is a variety of the *Quercus rubra.* I fully agree with you that the different sorts, Quercus, Inglans, Fraxinus, etc., are poorly described by Linn. Are there not other parts besides the leaves which ought to make up at least a part of their specific characters? It is not in my power to write you so largely on this subject, at this time, as I wish to do. It must be the subject of another letter, with a number of queries which I wish to propose to you respecting them. Marshall's Arbustrum I have by me. Dr. Barton was so obliging as to favor me with Aiton. But I am unable to form an opinion of the merit of the work, as I have been so unfortunate as not yet to find leisure enough to read half a dozen pages in it since it has been in my hands.

Permit me to beg your correspondence and letters as frequently as you can find it convenient. I hope to have leisure the next summer to attend to botany, and will take care to furnish you with leaves of all our oaks, Inglans, etc.

Your proposal, for a number of Botanists in the several States undertaking to describe the plants of their respective parts of the Continent, is highly agreeable to me. I hope to do something in describing those of New England.

At present, I must close with assuring you that I am, with sentiments of high esteem and friendship,

My Dear Sir, your most humble servant,

M. CUTLER.

REV. DR. MUHLENBERG.

[*To Count Castiglioni.**]

IPSWICH, *Dec.* 5, 1792.

Sir:—I did myself the honor, in January, 1786, to nominate you to the American Academy of Arts and Sciences, and at their next meeting you was elected a member. Upon making inquiry, I lately found the Diploma remained in the Secretary's Office, which I have taken, and to prevent further delay, do myself the honor to forward to you. While this infant Society feels itself honored by adding to the list of their Members the respectable name of Le Comte Castiglioni, they hope it will not be displeasing to you. Any communications you may be pleased to make will be gratefully received.

Since you left America, there has been no literary publication of any note, but the American Academy propose soon to publish a second volume. When it is out of the press, I shall be happy to furnish you with a copy. Wm. Bartram, who was employed by Dr. Fothergill, of London, and who spent six years (from the beginning of '73 to the end of '78) in exploring the Carolinas, Floridas, and Cherokee Country, has published his tour, but it is a work of very little merit, containing the descriptions of a very small number of plants.

---

* Luigi Castiglioni belonged to a noted Italian family, the biographies of several of whom are given in the "Biographie Universelle." He published, in 1790, an account of his travels in America, with a list of plants.—*C. G. Lloyd.*

Your friends in this country have entertained the hope that you would publish your discoveries and observations while you was in the United States, but we have no information of your having undertaken it. If you should print such a work, it would be highly gratifying to me, as well as to many others, to see it.

For the last four years, my time has been so much occupied in some particular concerns, to which I was obliged to pay attention, that I have been greatly interrupted in my botanical pursuits; but I have been able to take a review of the plants inserted in my Botanical Paper, published in the first volume of the Memoirs of the Academy. Those plants which I inserted without any Generic names, I have since arranged under the Genera to which they belonged, except Arum Am'n betafolia of Catesby's Nat. Hist., which I must still believe ought to be placed in the Tetrandria. Linnæus has called it D. foet., but seems to suspect it would prove a Pothus. I am inclined to think it is properly a Pothus., agreeing in the essential characters, and should be disposed to call it P. foet. But it appears to me that the genus P. ought to be removed from Gym. to Tetr., for in all the species I have seen, and especially the Am'n Skunk Cabbage, the stamens and pistils are perfectly separate, and both rise from the receptacle, but the receptacle is not elongated. Linnæus seems to have suspected it ought to be placed there, and I think ought to have done it. Had you an opportunity of examining the fresh blossoms of the Skunk Cabbage while you was in this country?

I have found many errors in my botanical Paper in the species, which I have also corrected. I have much regretted that I communicated that Paper to the Academy so hastily, but I have it now in contemplation to correct those errors by publishing a much larger work, including the New England plants. If I should publish, I will take the liberty to forward you a copy.

You will find inclosed a plant, which I think will prove a new Genus, and wish to know whether you met with it while you was in America? If you did, what did you call it? This little plant grows in moist, shady woodlands, generally under the Betula and Pinus. The root, when fresh, resembles cocoa, but of a much finer flavor. It seems to be highly nutritious. If you found this plant, you will doubtless recognize the specimen. You will much oblige me by giving your opinion respecting it.

If you should wish to receive any specimens of any particular plants from this part of America, you have only to signify it. It will give me pleasure to be favored with your correspondence on botanical or any other subject in Natural Science. I have the honor to be, etc.,

MANASSEH CUTLER.

[*From Baron Gustaf Paykull.**]

WALLOXSABY, NEAR UPSALE (SWEDEN), *April* 5, 1798.

Sir:—The Baron Hermelin, who was traveling in America, and who is one of my best friends, has informed me that you wished to enter into a correspondence with a Swedish naturalist. I seize this opportunity with eagerness. As a pupil of Linnaeus I cultivated since twenty years all the different departments of zoology, and my collection became by my zeal and the great number of my correspondents one of the richest in Europe. But in spite of all my labors there are still wanted a great quantity of North American species, and I direct myself to your kindness for increasing this number. I would be very thankful for them, and I offer you a quantity of mammalia, birds, reptiles, fishes, insects, shell-fish, corals, zoophites, and worms, as well from Europe, Africa, and the West Indies, as from Sweden. I have bought the large collection of the celebrated Swedish traveler, Mr. Sparrman. I am in possession of a great many duplicates. . . . I have the honor of sending you a number of my works on Nat. History, among which you will find my *Fauna Svecica*, of which the first vol. has been published just now.

---

* Baron Gustaf Paykull, a Swedish naturalist, was born in Stockholm, 1757. He became First Secretary to the King, 1794, and Marshal of the Court in 1815. He wrote monographs on the Swedish Coleaptera and several dramas. He died in 1826.

In case you accept my proposition, and if you wish to send me something, please to direct the package to Mr. Grill, *Consul General de sa Majeste Swedoir*, in London, to be forwarded to Charles Afredson, *Le Conseiller au College du Commerce*, at Stockholm, and by him to Mr. Paykull. If there should be an opportunity for Hamburg, please direct it to Mr. Averhoff, *Agent General de sa Majeste Swedoir*, in order that it may be forwarded to Mr. Afredson or Mr. Paykull. I shall also send you my remittance by Mr. Grill or Averhoff. Please to send the letters which you will have the kindness to write to me to Mr. Grill, in London, directing them to *Mr. Gustaf de Paykull, Conseille de la Chancellerie de sa Majeste Swedoir, membre des Academie de Sciences de Stockholm et Upsale, St. Petersburg, Florence, Siena, etc., a Upsale et Walloxsaba en Sweden.* Be so kind as to honor me with your favor as soon as possible, and if you prefer it you may write in Latin or English.

I have the honor to be, with great esteem, sir,
Your most humble servant,
G. PAYKULL.

[*To Mr. Paykull.*]

HAMILTON, NEAR SALEM,
IN MASSACHUSETTS, *Feb.* 14, 1799.

Dear Sir:—I had the honor, a few weeks ago, of receiving your favor of the 5th of April, 1798. A very severe indisposition has prevented my answering it so soon as I wished to have done. It will give me much pleasure to comply with your requests, as far as will be in my power. The study of natural history in this country is in its infancy, especially in the northern states of America. No branch of science has been so little cultivated as the scientific knowledge of our own productions. This deficiency has been, in part, owing to the great scarcity of books on natural history. No branch of it has been taught in any of our universities. We have many public libraries, consisting of large and well chosen collections of books from Europe, excepting on the different branches of natural history, in which there are very few, and those mostly ancient authors who wrote before the Linnæan system was formed, and our booksellers import no books on this subject. I have never seen any of the works of Gmelin, nor do I know that they are in America. The only works of any note that I have been able to obtain on the animal kingdom are *Linn. Syst. Nat. Edito. decima tertia*, Catesby's Hist. Carol., Hill's Nat. Hist., and Pennant's British Zoology, Edit. 4th, and Buffon. In the course of 10 years past, however, I have examined many of our indigenous animals, and have endeavored to arrange them agreeably to the Linnæan system. The specimens I have preserved have not been many, as I have not attempted to furnish myself with a cabinet. At this time I have not any number by me in a state that would be suitable to send to you, but will employ all my leisure to collect such as are to be found in this part of the country, and avail myself of the assistance of my friends at a distance to obtain those which are found only in remote parts of the back wilderness. Of the quadrupeds you mention we have species of the *Vespertilio*, *Canis*, *Felix*, *Viverra*, *Mustela*, *Ursus*, *Talpa*, *Sorex*, *Mus*, and *Lepus*, and some of the particular species you mention. But you have named many species that I do not find in *Linn. Syst. Nat.*, nor in Pennant's Brit. Zool. As I do not know what the specific characters are, I can not determine whether we have them or not. The Erinaceus, Hystrix, Cervus Virg., Bos Americ., Trichesus, are not found in this part of America. Mephitis, Empetra, and Pruinosa, are Genera I do not find in Linn. or Pennant.

In all the specimens I send you I will endeavor to preserve all the generic and specific characters as far as possible, which will enable you to determine what they are. Of birds, fishes, reptiles, shells, zoophytes, and vermies, we have great numbers of different genera and species in this vicinity. I will endeavor to procure specimens and forward them as fast as possible. You see, however, how poorly I am prepared to arrange the specimens you request, on the account of the want of books, nor have I been much in the habit of preparing specimens, having only sent a few species to some correspondents in England. I suspect I am not acquainted with the best methods. We have no cabinets of natural history in America, excepting one in Philadelphia and another in Boston. These consist of small collections, without any systematic arrangement. They are kept merely for the purpose of getting money by showing them to common people, and consist principally of exotics.

There has lately been a society instituted in Boston, by the style of American Historical Society, of which I am a member. The object of this society is to embrace natural history, and a room is now fitting up for a cabinet of natural productions. The American Academy of Arts and Sciences has a small cabinet, but no specimens of the animal kingdom.

You are so obliging as to mention your intention to send me some of your own works in natural history. They will be highly acceptable, and received with gratitude and avidity. Particularly your Fauna Svecica. I have not been able to procure the work of Linnæus, which he has called by that name. Should it be convenient for you, the American Academy of Arts and Sciences would be much pleased with a set of your works. There is, I believe, no member of this society now living in Sweden, and should it be agreeable to you I shall be happy to nominate you to be one of their honorary members. I thank you for your kind offer of sending me specimens. Should you send me a small number of your duplicates, natives of the North of Europe, I shall be happy to deposit them in your name in the Cabinet of the Historical Society.

I have the honor to be, with great respect,

M. Cutler.

[*From B. F. Stickney.*]

Salem, *July* 9, 1799.

Dear Sir:—I have the pleasure to inform you (after many disappointments) that, on Wednesday last, I had the satisfaction of descending into the aquatic regions. I embarked about 8 o'clock in the morning, in company with five gentlemen who had employed the early part of their lives in navigating this element. It being calm, we did not arrive at our place of destination before twelve. After some difficulty in confining the ballast, we had all in readiness for descending about three. We chose shoal water for the first experiment, lest some accident might happen.

I now descended to the bottom in 12 feet of water, remained 20 minutes, and continued a free conversation with those above. I did not find any necessity for using my bellows, till

I had been down eight minutes. I then used them, and found immediate relief. Nor was my situation in any way disagreeable, except the pressure of the water upon my arms, and taking in a small quantity of water, that was rather cold to my feet. But, to counterbalance these disagreeables, I had the pleasing prospect of seeing the natives of the element regardlessly sporting about me. With respect to our conversation, I accidentally observed that a low voice was more distinctly heard than a louder one. The person that was conversing with me did not understand something I said, and he desired the company, in a low voice, to cease talking, that he might hear what I said, and I found I heard this low voice much more distinctly than when greater exertion was made.

After making some improvements, such as taking the pressure from the arms, and providing means for confining the ballast more conveniently, I think of trying another experiment in deeper water.

I have given up all thoughts of keeping the matter secret any longer. Necessity has compelled me to communicate it to several, who have communicated it to others, and by that means, the knowledge of it is so useful, that it is morally impossible to arrest its progress. I am in great haste, or I should be more particular. It is only from considering the great interest you have in this, and all literary concerns, united with the obligations I am under, that compels other employments to yield. I must conclude with expressing my profound respects for yourself and family.

B. F. Stickney.*

[*From Baron Gustaf Paykull.*]

Walloxsaby, near Upsal, *Feb.* 6, 1801.

Sir:—I had not the honor of receiving your letter of the 14th February until toward the last of the month of October, of the last year, because, apparently, it was stopped a long time at London! I give you a thousand thanks, as well for this letter, as the good encouragement you have given me of endeavoring, as much as in your power, to fill the vacancy which I find in my cabinet of Natural History, as it regards North America. Be assured I shall do all in my power to show you my gratitude. I have already sent to you, to the address of Thos. Bainbridge, Ansley & Co., at London, a box containing 100 species of Insects, with a list of their names, which you have asked for the American Historical Society. In the same box you will find two copies of three volumes of my *Fauna Sueciae;* one for yourself, and the other for the American Academy of Arts and Sciences, from whom I shall accept, with sincere acknowledgments, the honor that you propose for me of being made a member. You will find also, in the box I have sent you, *Linnaei* (*filii*) *Supplementum Plantarum*, which you desired, and the *Licheaographia*, by *Mr. Acarius*, a new work of eminent merit, and absolutely classical. It was impossible, at the moment, to obtain for you the *Genera Plantarum*, by *Schreber*, nor the Edition of *Gmelin* of the *Systama Natura*, but I have no doubt I shall be able to offer it you very shortly, with some other new works that will be agreeable to you.

---

* Dorcas Stickney, a relation of Dr. Franklin, had a son, Anthony S. Stickney, whose son, Benjamin F. Stickney, married Mary, daughter of General John and the famous Molly Stark. Benjamin F. Stickney named his children with numerals. One of them, Two Stickney, Esq., of Toledo, Ohio, is a corresponding member of the Historical and Genealogical Society.—*Hist. and Gen. Reg., Jan.*, 1857.

As Botany is your favorite study, I am in haste to find you a worthy correspondent in my Country, who, himself, possesses a great collection of plants, and will be able to pay you in return for the American specimens he may desire. I have already addressed myself to *Dr. Swartz*, the celebrated Professor of Botany at Stockholm, who has accepted my proposal, and sends you in the box, of which I have spoken, a letter and some of his works, which will surely give you an idea of his merit. I am uncertain whether you will receive this letter first, or the box, which has some time been forwarded to London.

In future, I believe our correspondence will be better and speedier by Hamburg. If you shall judge so, you will only have to address my letters and packages, whether large or small, which you may send me, with my address, to Mr. Gustat Stark, Director of the Post to his Swedish Majesty, at Hamburg. He is my particular friend, and will make conveyance of my things, and also expedite to you my letters and packages, as soon as you will be so good as to give me your address to Salem. A thousand thanks I tender to you for your offer to send me American Books, especially the Transactions of the Academy; but, as I have some other opportunities of procuring them, and as I already have some, I do not wish you to take this trouble, and will only ask for those works which are your own, and which will always be very agreeable to receive from the Author's own hand. But this restriction need not prevent you from sending me European books. I have so great need of your indulgence and care in procuring me the productions of America of the Animal Kingdom, that I ought to think myself happy if you will permit me to pay a tribute of my gratitude by augmenting your library. If you would point out some other way by which I might serve you, you shall see that I will not refuse, and that I shall do it with all possible zeal. I beg you, with the same, to try as much as is in your power, to procure me the quadrupeds, birds, fish, reptiles, insects, shells, and worms of your Country, according to the list I have given you in my former letter. As amongst the *desiderata*, which I have pointed out to you, there are several which we do not find in the editions of the System of Linnæus which you possess. I wish you only to send me all new species, without embarassing yourself with the names which may have been given them since the time of Linnæus. I shall have, by this method, some specimens which I already possess, but these specimens will be very useful to me for my correspondents in the South of Europe. I beg of you to endeavor to procure for me specimens of all sorts which are not scarce, and which will not cost you too much pains to preserve. Insects, for example, I should be charmed to receive from 12 to 20 of each sort, if it were possible. If sometimes it should cost you too much trouble to stuff the skins of birds, I pray you to send the skins, only taking care they are not too much torn or bloody. You must take great care to take away the fat, the tongue, the eyes, the brain, and to powder well the skins with sulphur and ashes. After this necessary preparation, you must dry them in an oven, to take away the moisture, before packing the skins in a very close box. For the skins of the quadrupeds, I believe it will be better to have them pass through the hands of a leather dresser, so that they may not lose their hair, and may not be injured by worms. It is understood that the claws and nails ought to be well preserved. As for the worms, reptiles, and fish, they may be sent in spirits of wine, in a vessel well closed, if they are small; if not, send me only the skins. If you find it agreeable to you, please send some of your works for the Royal Academy of Sciences, at Stockholm, and I shall have the pleasure to propose you for the first vacant place as a foreign member.

Write me as soon and as often as you can find leisure, and I shall do the same to you.

I have the honor to be, with great esteem and consideration,
Sir, your most humble and obedient servant,
G. PAYKULL.

[*From Dr. J. G. Klein and Rev. J. P. Rotter.*]

TRANQUEBAR (HINDOOSTAN), *Sept* 13, 1803.

Rev'd Sir:—Being desirous to have a correspondence with America on natural history, particularly on botany, we take the liberty to introduce ourselves and profit by the happy opportunity Mr. Noble has offered us to present you a paquet of plants, collected in the environs of Tranquebar. If this should meet your kind acceptance, and cause a desire for a continuation of such collections, we shall have the honor to furnish you in future with more supplies, when favorable opportunities offer. Our *Herbarium siccum*, being now pretty great in number, would be greatly augmented and advanced by some additions of American plants, for which we request your kind assistance.

We have the honor to remain, with great esteem, Reverend Sir, your very obliged and humble servants,

J. G. KLEIN,
Med. Dr.
J. P. RUTTER,
Royal Danish Missionary.

THE REV'D DR. CUTLER, Hamilton, near Boston.
(By favor of J. Noble, Esq.)

[*To Hon. John Davis.**]

WASHINGTON (Without date).

My Dear Sir:—On my way to this city, I called at your house, but was so unfortunate as not to find you at home. I left the two Vols. of *Fauna Sueciæ*, by *Mr. Paykull*, which, by his request, I presented in his name to the American Academy. These Vols. are numbered I. and III., and the set he sent me have the same numbers. By some mistake, I presume, the 2d Vol. has been omitted in both sets. It will probably be sent in the next package he forwards to me. I also left at your house Flora Ind. Occid., presented to the Academy at the request of the author, Dr. Swartz.

You observed to me that Mr. Paykull, whom I nominated, had not been elected a member because no person appeared to give his character. I have not been able to attend a meeting of the Academy since his nomination. I will beg you to state to the Academy, at their next meeting, that Mr. Paykull was recommended to me as a man of much science and a valuable correspondent in all the branches of Natural History by the Baron Hermelin, who, I believe, was personally known, when in America, to several members of the Academy. Mr. Paykull is the Counselor of the king of Sweden's Chancery. He is a disciple of Linnæus and a member of their Academy of Sciences at Stockholm, Upsal, St. Petersburg, Florence, etc. Dr. Swartz, in his letters to me, speaks of him as his intimate friend and a truly scientific character. He considers the *Fauna Sueciæ*, which Mr. Paykull has presented to the Academy, as a truly classic work of great merit. He is the author of several other works of merit, published in the Swedish language. Mr. Paykull has forwarded to me a box of insects in a state of high preservation, scientifically arranged, which he has requested me, when I shall have sufficiently examined and compared them with ours, to present to the Historical Society. In the course of our correspondence, I shall expect further communications to these two Societies. I do believe, on the principles upon which foreign members have been elected, few have a fairer claim, or will be more honorable and useful to the Society. I must beg your particular attention to his election, and shall feel extremely disappointed, should he be negatived.

---

* Hon. John Davis, LL.D., born Jan. 29, 1761, at Plymouth; died in Boston, Jan. 14, 1847; graduated at Harvard University, 1781; Comptroller of the U. S. Treasury, 1795, and U. S. District Judge of Massachusetts from 1801 till his death. He was one of the most profound antiquarians in New England, member of many learned societies, and President of the Massachusetts Historical Society.—*Drake's Dict. Am. Biog.*

Dr. Swartz was in Boston in 1782, and spent six months in Massachusetts and in the Middle and Southern States. From there he went to the West Indies, and spent four years and a half in making collections for the work he has forwarded to the Academy. He was in Boston, I believe, about the time the American Academy was instituted, for he mentions the expectation of a Philosophical Society in Boston at that time. With whom he was particularly acquainted in Boston, I have not been informed, but I think it is probable he was personally known to some of the present members of the Academy. His name, however, has been so often mentioned in works on Natural History in England and in Europe, that his character can not be unknown to many of the Academy. He has presented to the Academy his Flora Indiæ Occidentalis, with plates, a very valuable work. He mentions, in his last letter to me, that he had just published a work, entitled Observations on Botany, but, not having a copy by him, he would forward one by the next opportunity for the Academy. He is also engaged in another work, a new systematic arrangement, according to the natural orders, of Cryptogamiæ, which he promised to forward, when completed. He has sent me a part of this work, which certainly does him great credit. To render the new system the more complete, I am furnishing him with plants of this class, that he may compare them with those of the old continent.

It has been my intention to nominate Dr. Swartz, had it been in my power to attend the last meeting. If it be consistent with the rules for making nominations, I wish his name may be entered on the nomination list, as nominated by me.

If not, give me leave to beg the favor of you to nominate him, or to desire some member of the Academy to do it. It is by electing such foreigners as are engaged in literary pursuits, and will favor us with their labors, infinitely more than by the celebrity of names, that the interests of the Academy are advanced. If they are men of science, it is an honor to enroll their names in the list of members, and it is the only return we can make them for adding their works to our collections.

I mentioned to you my wish to have one or two botanical students the next summer. The plan I propose, and the particular advantages which I think would be afforded to such students, I will make, as soon as I have leisure, the subject of another letter.

I am, with sentiments of much respect, dear sir,
Your very humble servant,
M. CUTLER.

[*From Dr. Olof Swartz.**]

STOCKHOLM, *Sept.* 11, 1805.

Dear Sir:—Enjoying the very interesting personal acquaintance of your friend, Mr. Peck, actually present in the Capital of Sweden, I embrace with eagerness his very polite offer to be at liberty of including a few lines in the letter he is just going to dispatch for North America. Some time ago I received also the letter which informed me about the arrival of Mr. Peck, and it is with particular acknowledgment that I find you recollecting me. I am very happy to have seen your excellent countryman. This will be in future a stronger tie between us; at least, I wish and hope so.

Mr. Peck also knew your friendly disposition toward me, in sending me some botanical collections from your Country—has, I find, made at London a very serious inquiry about the dispatched articles, but, I am sorry to understand, he has not received the least notice. If you please to continue your favor in future, I think there will be a far more safe conveyance by some trading vessel direct from Gottenburgh, which I suppose Mr. Peck will point out.

---

*Olof Swartz, M.D., Bergian Professor of Botany at Stockholm, a faithful pupil of Linnæus, and one of the best botanists of this or any other age. His various Cryptogamic works, no less than his West Indian Flora, entitle this amiable and liberal writer to universal respect. —*Am Cyclopedia.*

In the month of July, I sent you a small pack containing the Methodus Lichenum, by Dr. Acharius. It was sent away with a Captain Dahlstrom, bound to Philadelphia, and the pack was directed to Mr. Collin, my countryman, formerly pastor to the Swedish Church, at Philadelphia. I hope it has already been forwarded by him.

Earnestly wishing your friendly communications at any coming period, I subscribe myself, with sincerest esteem, dear sir, your affectionate friend and very obedient servant,

To DR. CUTLER. OLOF SWARTZ.

[In 1805, Dr. Cutler received an accession to his list of foreign correspondents, in the person of Lord George Valentia, who succeded, in 1816, to the title of Earl of Mountnorris. Lord Valentia is known to the literary world as the author of four interesting and instructive volumes of "Voyages and Travels to India, Ceylon, the Red Sea, and Egypt," undertaken in 1802, and terminated in 1806. On the 18th of July, he arrived at Aden, where he made the acquaintance of Jonathan Goodhue, Esq., of Salem, Mass. In December following, he visited Mocha. On landing, he was met by Captain Crowninshield, of Salem, and other Americans, whom he characterizes as "very sensible and intelligent men." He likewise received attentions from Captain Bancroft, also from Salem.*

---

* EXTRACT FROM LETTER OF JONATHAN P. FELT, OF SALEM, MASS., in 1853.

"Captain Crowninshield, that you allude to, was Captain of ship America, of Salem, belonging to the Crowninshield family, and he returned to Salem with a cargo of coffee from Moka, in 1805. He went by the name of old Ben, to distinguish him from Benjamin W. Crowninshield, who was Secretary of the Navy during the late War with England. The first knowledge that I have of old Ben was when he commanded the ship Prudent, belonging to the late Nathaniel West, Esq., of Salem. He was bound from London to Messina, in Sicily, and in passing through the Strait of Gibraltar, was captured and carried into Algeziras, in Spain, by Spanish gun-boats—was finally cleared, after a long detention. Since then he went out to the Mediterranean

Lord Valentia was an ardent amateur botanist, and appears to have been anxious to place himself in communication with devotees of the science in every part of the world. America, so rich in this department, and then so little known, had for him peculiar charms. From the Salem gentlemen just named, and particularly from Captain Bancroft, he obtained knowledge of Dr. Cutler as a distinguished student in his favorite department, and, consequently, one peculiarly qualified to aid him in his inquiries and collections. Soon after, therefore, he addressed to him the following letter:

[*From Lord Valentia to Dr. M. Cutler.*]

MOCHA, *April* 30, 1805.

Sir:—Should you consider me as taking too great a liberty in addressing you, though a perfect stranger, I must leave my friend, Captain Bancroft, to plead my cause, who has led me to suppose that a correspondence with a person who is attached to natural history as an amusement might not be unpleasant to you. Should such be the case, permit me to offer you my services in Europe, and at the same time to request yours in America.

---

as Captain of the Cleopatra's Barge, and carried George Crowninshield, the owner, as passenger. Captain Crowninshield has since been Collector of the Port of Marblehead. In the last War with England, he commanded the private armed ship John, belonging to the Crowninshield family, and some other Privateer.

"The first knowledge I have of Mr. Bancroft was when he occupied the situation of clerk of the Supreme Court, which office he filled for several years, until his health began to decline, when, by the assistance of Brown and Ives, of Providence, he was engaged to go to China, in ship Hercules, as supercargo, partly for his health. The ship Hercules belonged also to the late Nathaniel West. Captain Nathaniel Rogers, of Salem, was at Moka, as clerk, with Captain Crowninshield; was intimately acquainted with Mr. Bancroft, and tells me that, after Mr. Bancroft left Harvard College, he kept the Grammar School in Salem, and when he gave it up, Captain Rogers' father took charge of the school, and kept it some years, and that his father went out to Ohio with Dr. Cutler, but soon returned to Salem again. Captain Rogers remembers well Dr. Cutler—has seen him often at his father's house. Mr. Bancroft's wife was sister to Mr. Ives, of Brown & Ives, of Providence."

In the pursuit of my favorite amusement, botany, I have collected nearly five thousand species, which I cultivate in England. I have written to my chaplain and librarian, who, during my absence, has the care of my collection, to forward you such seeds as he can save next autumn, according to an address given me by Captain Bancroft. I hope they may be worthy of your acceptance. At any rate, after my return, if you will point out any thing you want in that line, which exists in Great Britain, I flatter myself that I shall either be able to send them myself, or procure it from some of my friends. In return, I shall really be obliged for seeds of any herbaceous plants, shrubs, or trees of America. I have sixteen acres of garden and two hundred of park, into which I wish to introduce not only the smaller plants, but the different varieties of timber trees that adorn your forests. Some species, such as the *Orchidice*, are, you know, not to be raised from seeds. The same is the case of the *Sareceerci.* But these will reach Europe in perfect safety, if put up with their native earth in boxes divided into small partitions and a cover nailed close over them.

Should you be so obliging as to let me hear from you, my address is at Messrs. Edwards, Temple & Co., Bankers, 34 Pall Mall, London. Any box may have the same direction, but I should always request a line, informing me by what vessel it is sent.

I have directed the Rev. Mr. Butts to take the above precaution, when he sends you the seeds.

I have the honor to be your faithful, humble servant,

VALENTIA.

[*From Hon. Theophilus Parsons.*]

Reverend and Dear Sir:—In riding through the Woods in Gloucester, that are between Kettle-Cove and Fresh-Water Cove, I discovered a flower to me quite new and unexpected in our forests. This was last Tuesday week. A shower approaching prevented my leaving the carriage for examination, but on my return, on Friday last, I collected several of the flowers in different stages, with the branches and leaves, and on inspection it is unquestionably the Magnolia glauca. Mr. Epes Sargent has traversed those woods for flowers, and not having discovered it, supposes it could not have been there many years. It was unknown to the people of Gloucester and Manchester until I showed it to them. I think you have traversed the same woods herborizing. Did you discover it? If not, how long has it been there? It grows in a swamp on the western or left side of the road as you go from Manchester to Gloucester, and before you come to a large hill over which the road formerly passed. It is so near the road as to be visible even to the careless eye of the traveler. Supposing the knowledge of this flower, growing so far north, might gratify you, I have made this hasty communication.

Your humble servant,

REV. DR. CUTLER. THEOP. PARSONS.*

July 28, 1806, *Monday*. Hon. Theophilus Parsons informed me by letter last evening that he had found the Magnolia glauca in a swamp on the road from Manchester to Gloucester. I set out in search of it. Dined at Captain Ingolson's, at Kettle-Cove, where Mr. Goldsmith brought me a tree of it, without knowing I was in search of it. Found it in plenty, in two swamps on the new read to the left. Went to Fresh-Water Cove, near the harbor of Gloucester, made a large botanical collection, and returned.—*Dr. Cutler's Diary.*

[*From Prof. C. S. Rafinesque.*†]

PALERMO, *Jan.* 28, 1807.

DOCTOR M. CUTLER.

Dear Sir:—I had the pleasure to receive last month, via

---

* Judge Theophilus Parsons, a distinguished lawyer, was born at Byfield, Mass., in 1750, graduated at Harvard College, 1769. He studied and practiced law in Falmouth (now Portland) and in Newburyport. Was appointed Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of Massachusetts. In 1780 he was a member of the convention which formed the constitution of the state and the convention which accepted the Federal Constitution. He was a powerful speaker. Rufus King was the only man who ever stood for a moment as the rival of Parsons in his own neighborhood. He continued in the seat of Chief Justice till his death, in 1813.—*Am. Biog.* (*Samuel L. Knapp*); *Biog. Em. Men* (*Davenport*).

† Mr. C. S. Rafinesque, botanist; born, Galata, a suburb of Constanti-

Marseilles, your esteemed favor of 8th May last, and being the first that reached me from you since I am in Europe, you may easily conceive how gratifying it has been. I perceive by it that you had formerly wrote me and sent me some plants, via Leghorn, which both never came to hand, and I regret it exceedingly, but have no doubt that the next parcel you have the goodness to promise me will make up that loss.

I feel very sorry for the disorders you have experienced, and regret that, conjointively with some pressure of business, they have prevented you to arrange your herbarium and favor us with another essay on the plants of New England, but trust that God will grant you health and leisure to accomplish both, and hope that you will at least favor me with the catalogue and descriptions promised; they will be gratefully acknowledged and mentioned when I shall publish my travels and essays on the Nat'l Hist. of the Plants of the U. S., and expect soon to receive the plants you mention to prepare, one of which you say is a new genus, and if it be correct I am willing to name it Cutlera, and alter the other plant named so. I trust you will renew occasionally, or at least once every year, sending me a large parcel of plants; you know already most of those I want, but to refresh your memory you will find hereunder the names of the principals, as well as the names of the plants lost in the passage, which I do n't doubt you will have the goodness to collect for me this season. My friends, Messrs. Dawes, Ingersoll, etc., of Boston, who propose returning to

---

nople, 1784; died, Philadelphia, 1842. He lost his father when he was seven years old, and with a brother was sent to the United States in 1792. He went to Philadelphia, traveled through the adjacent country, and made numerous collections of botanical specimens. In 1805 he went to Sicily and published "The Analysis of Nature" in the French language. Losing by shipwreck all his books, manuscripts, and drawings, he, in 1815, arrived in New York, but in 1818 went West, and was for a time Professor of Botany at Transylvania University at Lexington, Ky. Traveling also, and lecturing elsewhere, he finally settled in Philadelphia. In 1836, after a life of great vicissitudes, he published "Life, Travels, and Researches." Afterward published several other works: "American Flora," "Medical Flora of the United States," "American Nations," etc.—*See Am. Cyclopædia* (*Botany*).

Sicily this year, will by my desire acquaint you with the time of their departure. Any Captain coming from Salem to Palermo, and they are many in the course of the year, will also willingly take charge of such things for me, and in *default* you may address any package or letter to my friends hereunder mentioned in several ports of the Mediterranean.

In return of your kindness, and according to your desire, I now send you a parcel of Sicily plants, to which I join a few specimens of N. sp. of American plants, such as I can conveniently spare. Hereunder you have the particulars of same. I hope they will prove acceptable. Among the Sicilian plants are many New sp. I have discovered. I am sorry to say I have no curious seed to join to them at present. I inclose three copper-plates of as many new American Criptogamick Genera Carpanthus, Volvaria, and Acdyeio. I get many others engraved here, and intend they should make part of an essay on the natural history of American fungi, that I shall publish in more peaceable times. I shall make it a point to forward you my productions. I contemplate a natural history of all the vegetables in America, and perhaps the animals likewise, and whatever communications on those beings you may choose to make will be highly acceptable.

My leisure is now wholly engaged in investigating the Nat. history of this Island, which I likewise contemplate to achieve, and I am already very far advanced with the plants, Birds, Fishes, and Mollusks, and I shall soon begin the remaining classes.

It has always been my wish to be associated to some American philosophical or botanical Society or Academy, and I suppose it would not be very difficult to be aggregated as Corresp'd Member through your means; and in case it should not be so easy as I conceive, please to point out to me the means to become such. If communications, presents of books or Natural curiosities, should be necessary, before or after, I am willing to send such as you will think most proper. Your particular attention to this will infinitely oblige me.

Please to mention what new books or discoveries have been published in America on any part of Natural history.

If your friend, Mr. Wm. Peck, or any other gentleman, would also enter into a Botanical Correspondence with me, it would be very gratifying for me. Pray, what has the Erica returned to some Andromeda or Dabœcia? or what?

I remain, truly,

Your most obedient servant,

C. S. Rafinesque-Schmaltz,

Chancellor of the American Consulate, Palermo.

P. S.—I could not get the parcel of plants ready for this opportunity, but I shall send them by another, the William Gray, that sails for Salem in fifteen days, and the Super., Mr. Waldo, will take charge of them.

[*To Hon. T. Pickering.*]

Hamilton, *Jan.* 5, 1809.

Dear Sir:—In the present deplorable state of our Country, many respectable and considerate men, as well as the clergy, in this vicinity, think it highly proper that a day should be set apart for fasting and prayer. They have only contemplated a fast in this commonwealth, but have conceived that, under all the circumstances, it may be difficult to obtain an appointment from the usual authority.

Mr. Livermore, in a letter I received a few days ago, suggests the propriety of a fast through all the New England states, and observes that the clergy might do much in effecting this desirable object. I was much pleased with this proposal from him, and can not help indulging the hope that means will be adopted for carrying it into effect.

It will be unnecessary for me to state to you, sir, the motives which would induce serious Christians to desire that a day might be appointed for this purpose in all the N. England States, that at a crisis so momentous they may unitedly, on the same day, offer up their fervent supplications to the Supreme Ruler, whose prerogative it is to "sit as judge among the nations," and whose merciful interpositions have so often saved our country in times of extreme calamity. Such days are favorable opportunities for impressing upon the minds of the people a sense of their danger and their duty. I have no idea of making religion an engine of state policy, but I do believe such solemnities have a natural and powerful tendency to awaken the people to see threatening evils, and notwithstanding democratic influences, to convince many of the deluded of their errors and unite them in future measures for the salvation of their common country. Clergymen very generally, I believe, will feel it their duty and have the fortitude to convey to the least informed much important and useful information. These may be means which, by the smiles of Heaven, may go far in saving us from impending ruin. I well recollect that our frequent fast days, in the time of our revolutionary war, were punctually attended, and with much solemnity. They had a very visible effect in animating and in keeping up the spirit of the people. Observing the same day in so many states would much increase the solemnity, and might possibly have some effect in other parts of the union, if not on our National councils.

The only difficulty, it appears to me, is, how to procure the appointment. The body of the clergy, almost unanimously federal, would, I believe, cheerfully contribute all the aid in their power; but were they to take an active part, or were it to appear to be their plan, much clamor and opposition would be excited. You are sensible of the outcry that has been made against preaching politics, when the complaint, in reality, was only against the politics they preached. On days of public fasts and thanksgivings, I believe, they have very generally, notwithstanding this clamor, taken a view of the state of the country, and would undoubtedly do it on the present occasion. In this state, you are sensible, the present chief magistrate is notoriously an enemy to clergymen. He certainly would oppose such an appointment. But, if his Council and the two Houses should be favorable to it, I can see no impropriety in its being recommended by them.

To bring about an appointment in all the N. England states, a mode has occurred to me, which I will venture to suggest to you, and beg your attention to it. That the federal members in Congress from these states would be favorable to such an appointment, I can not doubt. Should they recommend it to the executives of the several states by private correspondence, or any other way they may think proper, it is believed it would be effected. It would then originate from the most proper source. You are the best informed of the perilous state of the nation. You are the guardians of our liberties and welfare. Your recommendation would have an influence which can be derived nowhere else. Were it consistent with your idea of propriety, it would be very desirable that it might be publicly known to be recommended by members of Congress. Notwithstanding democratic opposition, it could not fail of calling up more effectually the attention of the people. Would there be any impropriety in sending a circular, signed by as many as may feel disposed, to the Governors Trumbull, Tichenor, and Fenner, to leading members of our Legislatures, and to influential gentlemen in N. Hampshire? But I submit the matter, and will thank you to communicate the mode I have proposed to Mr. Hillhouse, with my sincere regards, and to as many others as you may think proper.

The complaints and sufferings among the people are increasing, foreign articles rising, and money extremely scarce; but there appears an unaccountable insensibility and indifference to the multiplied evils coming upon us. Since the passing of the additional embargo bill in the Senate, the alarm here is increased, and many are quite appalled. Salem is said to be much stirred up, and that some of the democrats publicly declare that this bill will unite N. England in a determined opposition to these horrid measures of the government.

I must beg you to excuse this long letter. I had not time to make it shorter.

I am, with the sincerest respect,

Your humble servant,

M. CUTLER.

[*From Colonel Pickering.*]

WASHINGTON, *Jan.* 12, 1809.

Dear Sir:—Yesterday I received your letter of the 5th. The crisis is not yet arrived, when, in my opinion, a *general fast* would be expedient. Our legislature is soon to meet. During their session more will be known of the operations of the General Government. Should these render a serious opposition by the New England States indispensable for the preservation of their rights as freemen, and the restoration of their commercial rights, then, when the firm stand shall be resolved on, it would not only be expedient, but the religious duty of a people believing in a superintending Providence, to invoke its protection and blessing, while they humble themselves under a sense of those sins which have rendered them objects of the Divine displeasure. In the mean time, all reflecting and pious men will, individually, seek that direction from Heaven which the times appear to call for. I am averse to whatever shall have the appearance of ostentation and management. A public fast is a solemn and great act of the community, and the occasion should be alike great and solemn. *Nec Deus intersit, nisi dignus vindice nodus*, will suggest to you my view of the question you have desired me to consider.

Entertain no fear of an immediate war. For my part, I think no war is to be deprecated at this time, excepting one with Great Britain. The impostors who have directed our national affairs for eight years past are not ready for that, much as they are disposed to favor France, and notwithstanding their never-dying hatred of England. The appearances of preparations for war are, for the most part, mere tricks of state; and all the war speeches of the few who are in the secret, are designed purely to keep the people quiet under the distressing pressure of the embargo, by holding up to their view the evils and distresses of war, especially of a war with Great Britain, against whom all their artillery of words is directed. The other spouters, implicitly confiding in their leaders, are but parrots repeating the notes proceeding from the palace. I have not time to add more than that I am, with very sincere esteem,

Dear Sir, your friend and servant,

TIMOTHY PICKERING.

P. S.—I have also received your letter of December 28.

THE REV'D DOCTOR CUTLER.

[*To Ephraim Cutler, Esq.*]

HAMILTON; *March* 23, 1813.

My Son:—Your favor of February 3d (but postmarked the 18th), I received about the 6th inst., and rejoiced much to hear from you, which we had not done for a long time. . . .

The account you have given me of the treatment of the Indians in two towns you have mentioned, and of the undisciplined state of the militia which made so large a portion of General Harrison's Army, is truly astonishing. The people who have treated these Indians in this savage manner, have debased themselves far below the savages. I have long been satisfied that the Indians are rarely, if ever, the first aggressors in their wars with the white people. Very little is to be expected from soldiers who are under no discipline; and this was probably very much the case with General Hull's army, and is still with the troops at Plattsburg, and near Niagara; nor will it ever be much otherwise until there is a Commander-in-chief who is fit for the station. Heaven has remarkably frowned upon all the attempts made to invade Canada. It is, however, no more than we might expect in carrying on a war so unprovoked, unnecessary, and abominably unjust. I was very sorry to find your son was one of the conscripts. I hope you will, at all events, provide a substitute.

It is to be extremely regretted that your state continues so Democratic. If you had united with New York and the four New England states, there would have been, very probably, a peace majority in the new Congress. As it is, if North Carolina and Tennessee do not elect their members before the extra session in May, the war party must be in the minority at that time. In this quarter, the distresses of the war are most sensibly felt. Commerce has almost totally ceased. Very little has been obtained by privateering. Double the amount of property has been taken in the ships that have been captured, since this vile business commenced, to what has been brought in by the privateers. I rejoice that scarcely a Federalist has been concerned in them. Almost every privateer from Massachusetts is taken. We have had the account of the capture of a number within a few days. The few that are in are afraid to go out.

But what has greatly increased the distress in our seaports, and the inland towns in this part of the country, is the almost total failure of the crop of Indian corn the last season. The spring was cold and late, which occasioned the corn to be planted late; the summer was rather favorable, so that the corn obtained a pretty good growth; but, at the time it was full in the milk, we had repeated frosts, and some of them so severe as to freeze the grain to the cob. The husks did not open, and great quantities rotted in the fields, so as to be offensive on passing through them. Much of it even cattle would not eat, and for hogs it was useless. That which was planted early was the best. We should, probably, have had about two hundred bushels, but saved only twenty which would do to grind, and much of that, in common years, we should not have attempted to make into bread. We had one acre of pretty good rye, and this is all we expect to have until another crop is obtained. Numerous families live wholly without bread, using potatoes for a substitute. We had a good crop, about three hundred bushels, but we had to fatten our pork, and keep our store hogs upon them. We have not yet been without bread at table; but I believe I have not eaten much above a pound of bread for more than three months. Many more vessels than usual were sent to the South for corn and flour; a large number of them have been taken, and very few have yet arrived. We have just had news of a vessel taken by the Chesapeake Blockading Fleet, in attempting to run by from James River, the Captain of which was a near neighbor; and the black man I brought from Washington, and who has since lived with me, and on whom I depended for help, was taken in her. . . .

Jervis is with us. This winter he has been employed mostly in engraving, and has work from Salem and Boston. A book has been published this winter, which goes to the world as his production, under the following title: "A Topographical Description of the State of Ohio, Indiana Territory, and Louisiana. Comprehending the Ohio and Mississippi Rivers and their principal tributary streams; The face of the country, soil, waters, natural productions, animal, vegetable, and mineral; Towns, villages, settlements, and improvements. And a concise account of the Indian tribes west of the Mississippi. To which is added an interesting Journal of Mr. Charles Le Raye while a captive with the Sioux nation on the waters of the Missouri River. By a late officer in the U. S.

Army." There is added an Appendix, which was not originally intended, containing some account of the Indian nations within the United States. The materials for this work were very scanty. The account of the Indians west of the Mississippi, I happened to obtain from Mr. Jefferson, when I was at Congress. It was communicated to him by Captain Lewis and Mr. Sibley, and never has been published. From these accounts, and from several Journals of Officers, which Jervis obtained at New Orleans, this part is made out, and is, I believe, the best to be found. But the account of the Indians within the United States is deficient, taken mostly from old official accounts, the best we could obtain. Le Raye's Journal is interesting. He gave it to Jervis on his way, in the boat with him, down the Mississippi. There are five copper-plates, well executed; a view of Cincinnati, a Flat-head man, woman, and child, the Mountain sheep, and an antelope. About one thousand copies are printed, of which two hundred are bound, and the others are in the hands of the book-binder. It appears to be quite popular, and all that are bound, I believe are sold. We shall send one to you as soon as we have opportunity. . . .

I received, not long ago, the Constitution of a Bible Society at Marietta. We have a Bible Society called the "Bible Society of Salem and vicinity." The object of this Society is, in the first place, to supply our own vicinity, in which are five seaports, containing many poor people. We were incorporated somewhat more than two years ago, and have purchased about one thousand Bibles, which I believe the managers have distributed, and which probably afford a pretty good supply to those poor people. We shall then, as our funds permit, send Bibles abroad. It is probable that a number may be sent, on application, to the Bible Society at Marietta. From the Bible Society at Philadelphia (who have been at the great expense of procuring stereotypes for printing the Bibles) we have ordered two hundred of the stereotyped Bibles to be forwarded, and shall, probably, have all our Bibles printed in Philadelphia, from whence they might be sent to Marietta. I believe I shall send you, with this letter, our Incorporating Act and Constitution. This Society was formed pretty much through the exertions of Colonel Thorndike and myself. We organized ourselves before incorporation, but collected no money. Colonel Thorndike's name you have probably seen in the papers. He is a member of our Senate, and reputed the richest man, next to Mr. Gray, in Massachusetts. He was at first elected President, and myself Vice-President. We were the committee to secure the Act. He at that time moved to Boston, and after Incorporation I was chosen President, and so continue. At our annual meeting, in April, we are to have our first public exercises, and I am appointed to deliver the sermon. . . .

Your affectionate Parent,
M. CUTLER.

[*To Ephraim Cutler.*]

HAMILTON, *August* 27, 1818.

My Dear Son:—By Mr. Dana I received a letter from you wholly confined to the concerns of the College at Athens. It is a subject in which, I must confess to you, I do not feel myself much interested. When I reflect upon the exertion I was obliged to make, and the opposition I had to encounter in obtaining a grant from Congress of the two townships for the establishing of that institution, and consider the total neglect I have experienced respecting the founding the college, my feelings have been much hurt. The fact is, the people in the State of Ohio are wholly indebted to me for procuring the grant of those townships, and the ministerial and school lands in the Ohio Company's purchase, and, indeed, for similar grants in Judge Symmes' purchase.

When Mr. Sargent and myself applied to Congress for the purchase, no person, to my knowledge, had an idea of asking for such grants. On my mentioning it to Mr. Sargent and others friendly to the purchase, they were rather opposed, fearing that it would occasion an increased price for the lands. When the application was first made for the grants, a large majority appeared opposed. I had previously contemplated the vast benefit that might be derived from it in future time, and was determined to make every exertion to obtain it. Mr. Sargent, indeed, cordially united with me in endeavoring to surmount the difficulties which appeared in the way, until the object was obtained. Judge Symmes was waiting the issue of our application with the intention to apply for his purchase, but had not thought of such grants until they were made to us. He then included similar grants in his application.

It is well known to all concerned with me in transacting the business of the Ohio Company that the establishment of a University was a first object, and lay with great weight on my mind. In view of the origin and exertions made to obtain the townships, I can not help considering myself, in some sense, as the donor, and that I have been entitled to some attention on that ground. You may charge it to my vanity, but such are my feelings, which I venture to confess to you. Mr. Dana gives a very flattering account of the present state and future prospects of the College. It is my earnest prayer that it may increase and flourish, and prove a great and permanent blessing in future time.

Mr. Dana has been very pressing that I should be a subscriber to the funds he is endeavoring to obtain, stating his apprehension that it would influence non-residents more readily to afford their aid. With much reluctance I have subscribed $20, not from want of disposition to promote the Institution, but from inability in my present circumstances to give any thing, and from a persuasion in my own mind that, all things considered, I have done as much as could be reasonably expected of me. It is not in my power to give any thing I possess here. I have assured him I can only depend on the sale of lands in your hands for the payment, and have given him an order to that amount. The order does not stand just as I should have chosen to have had it. It says funds now in your hands, or may be hereafter. I have told him I would not consent to have it paid out of the sum for which you have sold a mile square lot, and which I expected to have received a considerable time ago, and that I should so write to you. He fully declared that he did not desire to receive it out of that money, but was willing to wait any time until you could conveniently pay it.

Altho' I have written so long a letter, I will venture to mention one matter more, in which you and my other children have a greater interest than myself, and which it may be in your power to promote. I am just going off the stage, and any mark of respect that can be shown to me in this world, I consider of very little consequence to myself, but may be of some to my posterity. It is this: That, as the College is now established, there might be some *memento* preserved in it, respecting the obtaining so large a fund as the two townships, which I was the sole instrument of procuring, tho' not the real donor; such as the name of some building, or hall, or some other object of less consequence—merely preservative of the name. This is no more than has been invariably customary in all the colleges in New England.

I will only add,
Your affectionate parent,
M. Cutler.

CHAPTER XXI.

LETTERS FROM W. D. PECK, BENJAMIN TALLMADGE, TIMOTHY PICKERING, SAMUEL TAGGART, RUFUS PUTNAM—DIARIES FOR 1806 TO 1816—CHARGE AT ORDINATION OF REV. MR. KIMBALL—REMINISCENCES BY MRS. WHEELER, ALLEN DODGE, DR. BROWN, MR. CHEEVER—SUNDAY SCHOOL—FUNERAL SERMON—OBITUARY NOTICES.

ON BOARD THE GALEN,
LAT. 48° 53′, LONG. 16°, *July* 1, 1805.

TO REV. DR. CUTLER.

Reverend and Dear Sir:—I embarked with my fellow passengers on the 3d of June. Our progress hitherto has been slow and tedious, having had no wind, since we left Boston, which was actually fair, and we have sailed close hauled on the wind the greatest part of the time. So prevalent have been the breezes from the Southward and Eastward, that we have thought constancy, an attribute hitherto denied them, might be given to the winds.

I have seen fewer marine productions than I expected. The Fucus natans occurred but seldom, and instead of fields of it, I saw only detached pieces. Some of these I took, and found on them two species of Cancer; one of these seems to be Cancer minutus, and the other approaches the Cancer pennaccus, though it does not perfectly accord with any species in the 12th edition of the *Syst. Nat.*

The Portugese Man of War of the sailors is a very curious animal, and may be called Medusa cristata. Its form is oval, its body inflated with air, which keeps it afloat; and the crest, which answers the purpose of a sail, occupies the length of the back. The tentacula occupy the anterior and inferior part of it. . . . The tentacula are surprisingly extensible, so that they may be lengthened three fathoms, or contracted to two inches. Other species of Medusa have presented themselves, some of which are very beautiful, and one I found phosphorescent, or giving a most beautiful and vivid light in the night. Several other gelatinous animals abound in the ocean, of wonderful structure and exquisite transparency. The Fucus natans is beautifully incrusted with Flustra foliacea. A small shark was taken yesterday. It proved to be the Squalus glaucus, the back of a fine blue-slate color.

I took with me the Medical Repository of Dr. Mitchill, and find, in the number for August, September, and October, that M. Rafinesque has found that the canvas-back is the Anas ferina of Linné. I confess I feel a little vexed that Dr. Mitchill or Dr. Barton have not done this before, and that we are obliged to a foreigner for the name ot a bird which has been so long celebrated; and I am ashamed, too, that this bird should be known to the wise men of the South more as a tid-bit, a gulae irritamentum, than as a link in the chain of nature. Now, the Anas ferina has been known to me several years. A gunner at Kittery brought me a pair of them, I believe, ten years ago, so that it is sometimes found in our waters; and the Vallisneria, as I believe I mentioned to you, is found in the Artichoke. As the plant which M. Rafinesque says is its food is found with us, the bird may also be reckoned one of ours.

I avail myself of a little leisure which I have while at sea to write you; but, having much to do, must break off rather abruptly. It will serve, however, to assure you that I am not forgetful of your many kindnesses, and that I am, my dear Sir,

Your very affectionate and obliged friend and servant,

W. D. Peck.

[*From Colonel Benj. Tallmadge.*]

Washington, *Jan.* 23, 1806.

Dear Sir:— . . . The House of Representatives have been engaged for a fortnight past in confidential business. I wish it was proper for me to communicate to you the *subjects* as well as the manner of the debates. Knowing the characters who appeared in the debate, I am persuaded you would be greatly pleased with a history of this interesting transaction.

I was at Mr. Merry's last Saturday, when Mrs. Merry remembered her old friend Dr. Cutler very cordially.

Mr. Wright, of the Senate, has brought in a bill offering a bounty of $200 to any person who shall shoot a British officer, if he should attempt to impress him. Its other provisions are the most singular of any that I remember to have seen. The spirit of the nation seems to run high against the British Government and Nation.

I am, dear Sir, sincerely yours,
BENJ. TALLMADGE.

[*From Colonel Benj. Tallmadge.*]

WASHINGTON, *Feb.* 19, 1806.

Dear Sir:—I have now before me your letters of January 29th and February 8th. It would afford me peculiar pleasure if I was at liberty to give you the Details of our late secret session. The attempt to remove the injunction of secrecy has been more than once made, but without success. The truth is, our exclusive republican Brethren, those dear Lovers of the people, do not think it safe (at least for their own reputations) to trust them with the knowledge of all their political Intrigues. For my own part, I could wish that every person in the U. S. could have witnessed the *passing scenes.* One thing I will venture to predict, that whenever the secret gets out, the world will wonder that so much Importance has been bestowed on such an event.

The schism which has taken place between Northern and Southern Democrats looks to be of the irreconcilable nature that it never can be healed. J. Randolph and some of his fast friends lead the Southern Junto; while Bidwell, General Varnum, Crowninshield, and General Thomas, appear to manage the Northern Phalanx. In many trials of strength their force has appeared to be so nearly balanced that the weight of the little Federal band has given a preponderating turn to the balance. In some contests, Randolph has kept the field of Argument, alone, against the whole host of his guards or brethren, and even silenced their batteries. His attacks have been general or personal, as best suited his purpose; and, in some of his philippics, the gall of his heart was poured forth without mixture. Epithets have, in consequence, attached to certain Characters, which they can not shake off, and which we sometimes think prevents them from *over much talking*. You will undoubtedly recollect the peculiar nasal sound of General ——'s voice. Randolph called it a "sepulchral tone," or, "in the language of the common prayer book, might be either said or sung." General Varnum he has styled *sworn Interpreter of Presidential Messages*, etc. Bidwell is manifestly not a little mortified, and speaks but rarely, especially when R. is present.

If you ask me what good is to result from all this, I must say, perhaps no lasting good, inasmuch as it has been uniformly found to be true, that whenever the principles of the party are attacked, they will immediately unite as in a common Cause.

The Senate have not yet sent us the St. Domingo Bill. When it comes, I presume we shall follow the measures of the Senate. In fact, the dignified spirit of our country has either fled or sleeps.

I am affectionately and sincerely yours,

BENJ. TALLMADGE.

REV'D M. CUTLER.

[*From Colonel Tallmadge.*]

WASHINGTON, *April* 2, 1806.

Dear Sir:—Yesterday we had one of the proudest days that has fallen to our lot during the session. Early in the day, Jno. Randolph offered a Resolution (after the Galleries were cleared) to take off the injunction of Secrecy from the Members relative to our proceedings during the late sittings in Conclave. Early, of Georgia, moved to postpone the consideration *indefinitely.* This was considered to be tantamount to a negative, and brought on a warm discussion. Mr. R. took a very wide range indeed, and pelted the Secretary of State severely. He pronounced him either ignorant of his Duty, or wicked in executing it. In fact, he finally declared that he (the Sec'y of State) had made proposals to take the money from the Treasury, before Congress convened, to purchase the Floridas, and trust to a future appropriation to cover this nefarious Conduct. This brought up Smilie, Findley, Eppes, Bidwell, Early, etc., but R. silenced them all. In fact, I have never witnessed such a Debate. The Question was taken by yeas and nays on the postponement, and lost by one majority. Several other motions were made to evade the main Question, but could not be carried. The Abettors of the late measure, appropriating $2,000,000 to purchase the Floridas, and in this way, for aught we know, committing this Country for millions more, began now to look thunderstruck, and seemed to look almost willing to call to the rocks and mountains to fall on them. The vote was taken on the Resolution about half past 5 o'clock, and carried. Our late secret proceedings will therefore be now made public, and the papers, I have no doubt, will be filled with the same.

I write in great haste, and am,

Sincerely and respectfully yours,

DR. CUTLER. BENJ. TALLMADGE.

[*From Timothy Pickering.*]

CITY OF WASHINGTON, *March*, 1806.

Dear Sir:—I received your letter of the 15th ult. If Mr. Collins sends me the letter from Sweden, I will forward it to you without delay. I will also take the packet on my return.

McMahon has, within a few days, informed me that his book on gardening is published, and asked my orders concerning your copy. It being so late in the session, I have desired him to retain it until I return. But is it not probable that he will send some copies to Boston? I believe I had better hint that to him; and, in that case, to send a copy for you, because it is not improbable that Congress may sit to a late day in April—I understand that the President has intimated as much—and you may wish for your copy early in the spring.

With great regard and esteem, I am yours,

T. PICKERING.

P. S.—Mr. Rind has failed in sending some of your papers; but you will not lose much thereby. No Minister is nominated for London. I presume Monroe will remain there alone. Least of all will Burr.

[*From Timothy Pickering.*]

WASHINGTON, *March* 8, 1806.

Dear Sir:—It gives me pleasure that at length I can inclose you one Washington Federalist in which you will find some amusement.

John Randolph has repeated in public the reproaches which, with closed doors, he had uttered against our *noble* President, who is, indeed, a most miserable visionary in politics, and ridiculously credulous in all things, even in his favorite pursuit, Natural History. I do not think any Federalists view him with more contempt than many of his own adherents.

He is evidently fast sinking into contempt; and, before his term expires (going on as of late), he will be glad to seek refuge in Carter's or any other mountain, not from an enemy, but from the scorn of the whole American world.

Adieu!

T. PICKERING.

[*From Hon. Samuel Taggart.*]

WASHINGTON, *March* 4, 1813.

My Dear Sir:—I received yours of the 25th ult. on the evening of the second instant. From some things in it I am rather led to expect to hear from you to-day, but as I shall be so busy packing up that I shall not have time to write after the mail comes in, I thought I would write a few lines this morning for the last time during my present residence in Washington. My fellow-boarders are all gone, so that for the day I am left alone, but shall, I hope, be on the road to-morrow morning, when I expect to find the traveling, especially this part of the way, to be bad in the extreme. The 12th Congress closed its political existence last evening at nearly 12 o'clock. I was not in at the death. I retired to my lodgings between nine and ten. The house had then nothing to do, and was waiting for the Senate. Some bills were afterwards returned from the Senate with amendments, which were lost in the House for the want of a quorum. Some exertions were made to obtain a quorum by sending for members at their homes, and a number returned, but not enough to make a quorum. I did *not* return, although sent for—partly, because I was in bed, and felt no inclination again to traverse the mud in a dark night between my lodgings and the Capitol, and partly because I thought it likely that the license bill and the non-exportation bill had been returned with amendments, and these I felt willing to defeat in any way. As it happened, however, these bills were postponed in the Senate. One or two bills which were lost in this way it would, perhaps, have been well enough to have had passed, but I trust the nation will receive no great detriment by their failure.

One very foolish bill, authorizing the destruction of the enemy's vessels by torpedoes, or other submarine explosions, was taken up in a frolic and passed. Those who voted to take it up for the purpose of hearing a drunk man make a speech, could not afterward vote it down. I understood, however, that the President did not sign it, and for this act I am willing to allow, abstaining to do one bad thing which he had in his power. The retaliation bill, however, has passed, and is, in my opinion, a disgrace to our statute book.

A resolution passed the House of Representatives on Monday, on the motion of Mr. Goldsborough, calling on the President for information in relation to the state of our foreign relations with France. Late last evening an answer was returned, containing a stingy correspondence between Barlow and the Duke of Bassano, partly in May and partly in October of the last year. The October correspondence gave encouragement of an almost immediate conclusion both of a treaty of commerce and a convention in relation to spoliations. He was summoned to Wilna, to close the business there; but Bonaparte, when he passed through Wilna, on his return, was in such a hurry for fear the Cossacks would catch him that he had not time to pay any attention to his humble friend; and Joel died suddenly, on his return, of an inflammation of the lungs, at a small village near to Cracow in Poland. There is a whisper that he was assassinated, but I know not on what foundation it rests. The circumstance of his leaving the mild climate of Paris at that season of the year, and encountering the rigors of winter in the North of Europe in such a long journey, is sufficient both to account for his death and the disorder by which he is said to have died. He is said to have left his papers, both public and private, in a state of the utmost disorder, and to have effected nothing. There may be something particularly providential to the United States in his death at this critical moment. It may retard an entangling alliance, and eventually break the snare. News, I can give you none which you will not get as soon and more fully in the papers; and I have now time to write but little more. You will have heard of the capture of the Post at Ogdensburg by the British. This is another sample of success in the conquest of Canada. Harrison's Great Battle proves all to be a hum, as I believe I wrote in my last. I hope I shall hear from you, either by the mail of to-day or on my return home. I shall now bid you farewell until I return to Washington, unless I should receive a letter from you which requires an answer before the twenty days expire. I rest yours affectionately, SAML. TAGGART.

P. S. In speaking on Mr. Calhoun's non-exportation bill, Mr. Quincy took the opportunity of giving the Cabinet another most severe lashing.

[*From Hon. Samuel Taggart.*]

WASHINGTON, *Feb.* 19, 1815.

My Dear Sir:—I calculate that there is some probability that I may hear from you by to-morrow's mail, and therefore write this by anticipation; but I shall not inclose nor put it in the post-office until after the usual time of the arrival of to-morrow's mail, as it will not leave Washington before Tuesday morning. If I receive any thing from you to-morrow, I shall notice it in this.

I long to receive some letters from New England, giving the account of the manner of their reception of the news of peace. Last Monday it was received in the town of Greenfield, the county town of our county of Franklin, merely by the report of a passenger in the stage. The only bell in the place was set to ringing, and the firing of cannon was kept up for as much as two hours. Their informant, however, was a gentleman of character, personally known in the place, who had come direct from New Haven after the news had been received there.

I shall begin this where I closed my last, which I believe was when the treaty was before the Senate undecided. The decision took place without a dissenting voice as soon as it could consistent with their established rules, *i. e.*, after it had lain over one day. This was on Thursday last. Friday morning it was expected the treaty would have been published in form; and the reason why it was not was that Mr. Baker, who was the bearer of the ratification of the Prince regent, which he was to exchange for that of the President of the United States, had not arrived in Washington. He arrived on Friday evening about 8 o'clock. The ratification was presently exchanged, and on Saturday morning the treaty, together with the President's proclamation, declaring it to be ratified and become the supreme law of the land, was published. The treaty will probably meet your eye before you receive this letter, as it will be on the way two, if not three, days sooner than this.

The treaty I call a good one, because it secures to us the blessing of peace, which is beyond all price; and even if it was much less advantageous than it is, I should rejoice in it. I think it is as good as we had any right to expect, and better than I expected we could obtain. But it falls far short of the extravagant demands of our government at the commencement of the war, and what they would have still continued to be had Bonaparte continued all-powerful in Europe. As good, and probably a better, treaty might have been obtained when a cessation of arms was asked for by Admiral Warren, and an immense saving both of blood and treasure have been made. Our war-hawks, some of them at least, affect to speak of it as a glorious war and an honorable peace; but the treaty guaranties no one object for which the war was commenced. It is entirely silent about free-trade and sailors' rights, or the doctrine of blockades and impressment, nor does it say a word about either the India trade or the fisheries, which may, notwithstanding this treaty, be placed upon a worse footing than before the war; and it is thought that the stipulated running of the lines will take something off from our territory, both on the eastern frontier of the district of Maine and the northern frontier of Vermont and New York—that it will encroach so far as to include Burlington and Plattsburg within the bounds of Canada.

There is another consequence of this war, which I think I clearly foresee. I do not know whether it strikes others in the same light it does me, *i. e.*, this war which was waged for the express purpose of humbling Great Britain, and to compel her to do us justice, according to the common slang of the day, will render this country tributary to her, for perhaps half a century to come, in this way. Interest on public stocks is low in England, averaging not more than four per cent. Great numbers of the holders of American stocks wish to avail themselves of it as a mercantile capital. It will be either so or exchanged for British goods. This stock, on account of its bearing a higher interest, will be eagerly sought after by the moneyed capitalists of Europe, and it would not be strange if within three years much the largest portion of our public stocks should be owned in Great Britain. The interest will have to be paid in a foreign country in specie, and this will make a constant drain of the precious metals. But with all these and greater inconveniences Peace is a blessing beyond all price.

There is one observation farther, which has occurred to me. We live in an eventful period. Probably there has not been so long, so destructive, and so extensive a war in the civilized world as has been during the last 20 or 25 years. How sudden and how great is the change within the last 18 months. Perhaps there has not been a period within the recollection of any person now living in which the European world has been so generally at peace as at this moment. The United States were the last in getting into the vortex, and they have been the last in tasting the blessings of peace. May this peace among the nations prove the happy prelude of the universal reign of him who is the Prince of peace.

What the effect of peace will be on the state of political parties in this country, it will be impossible to foresee on any other grounds than conjecture. There is no doubt but endeavors will be used to make the public believe that it is an advantageous peace, and that Great Britain has been compelled to yield to us a great deal, and the credit of the whole will be claimed for the administration. Indeed, I can see this game begun already, and it will probably be attended with some success. I hope Federalism will keep its ground, but if I could obtain it for wishing, I would not bestow a single wish to have them the majority in the next Congress. People are so elated with the idea of peace, that they expect to get rid of all their other burdens, particularly the taxes, with the war. It is evident that heavy burdens upon the people must continue for some years at least. Should the Federalists now come into power, and heavy taxes be continued, all the blame would be thrown upon them, and no stone would be left unturned to render them unpopular. As the present ruling party have spread the table and made the war feast, it would be all best for them to have the burden devolve upon them of making arrangements to pay the bill. I mean, that it would be all best for the federal interest; and should they, after a lapse of two or three years, come into power, they would be much more likely to hold their seats than if they came in now; and in the meantime, as a burnt child dreads the fire, there is no danger that they will either involve the nation in another war or recommence a system of commercial restrictions; and if peace continue in Europe, there would be no inducement for either.

I subscribe myself, yours affectionately,

Samuel Taggart.

Feb. 20. I received no communication from you this day. The President has communicated the treaty to Congress today, accompanied with a message. Five thousand copies of the treaty and message are ordered to be printed. The message is about as false and Jesuitical as usual. I shall send you a copy.

Diary.

Jan. 28, 1806. Attended fast at Mr. Frisbie's (Ipswich), on account of his sickness. Mr. Webster prayed, and I preached, A. M., though very unwell. Mr. Kimball prayed, and Dr. Dana preached, P. M. We were at Mr. Rogers'.

Feb. 28. Attended Mr. Frisbie's funeral as a bearer, with Messrs. Dutch, Huntington, Webster, Bramen, and Woods. Was unable myself to take any part. Mr. Bramen made the first prayer. Mr. Huntington preached an excellent sermon. Mr. Woods made the last prayer. Several ministers present. Dr. Dana walked as a mourner. An exceedingly large Assembly.

May 25, *Lord's Day.* Preached at the late Mr. Frisbie's parish, Ipswich. Administered the Sacrament. Dined at Mr. Rogers', drank tea at Mr. Heard's, in company with Major Swasey.

June 16, *Monday.* A total eclipse of the sun. Had no time to regulate my clock; was in doubt about the time which my clock and watch gave. Had only two pretty good spy-glasses; one a traveling glass, the other a sea spy-glass, which I used, and very good for its kind. Made the following observations in my walk on the top of the house. The atmosphere perfectly clear, not a speck of a cloud, no vapor on the horizon, and scarcely a motion in the air during the eclipse.

Beginning, 10 h. 4′ 30″
Beginning total dark., 11 h. 25′ } Duration, 5′ or 4′ 30″
End do., . . 11 h. 30′ }
End of Eclipse, 12 h. 50′ 15″
Duration, 2 h. 45′ 45″

The watch was about 5′ too fast. I know not the rate of its going. It has gained some. The finest day I ever saw when I attempted any astronomical observations.

June 26. Received a letter and box containing Withering's Botany, seeds, and Mrs. Merry's picture, from Mr. Merry, by a vessel to Newburyport.

July 22. Captain Safford and myself went to Manchester, and spent the day at Captain Ingolson's very agreeably. Attended to botany with his two daughters, Miss Mary, and Mrs. Gridley. We drank tea at Dr. Lakeman's, and came home.

[In August, Dr. Cutler made a business trip to Rhode Island; and in September, a journey to Union, Maine, to attend the ordination of Mr. True. He was moderator of the council, and gave the charge. Went to General Knox's seat.

Spent a Sabbath at New Castle, and preached; also one on his return, at Falmouth. "A pleasant journey."]

Oct. 8. Attended ordaining Council at Ipswich. Colonel Robert Dodge and Dea. Matthew Whipple, delegates. The parts assigned: Introductory prayer, Mr. Eaton, of Boxford; Sermon, Mr. Allen, of Bradford; Consecrating prayer, Mr. Parish, of Byfield; Charge, myself; Right hand, Dr. Dana; Concluding prayer, Mr. Whitaker, of Sharon. (Rev. David Tenney Kimball * was the candidate ordained.) Dined at Treadwell's. Large company; many ministers and candidates.

Oct. 11. My Charge called for to be printed.

[The following is a copy:

My Dear Sir:—The interesting transactions of this day must have deeply impressed your mind. At the altar of God you are making your vows and devoting yourself to the service of the sanctuary. The arduous nature of the work you are now undertaking—the high responsibility of the ministerial office—the fearful consequences of unskillfulness and unfaithfulness in the discharge of the duties of it, are considerations which may well awaken the most lively sensibilities. But the motives and views which have led you to devote yourself to the work of the ministry, and the sense of duty which has disposed you to accept the invitation of this Church and congregation, encourage the pleasing hope that your labors will be attended with the blessing of heaven.

You have now, by the solemn rites of ordination, been publicly inducted to the office of a gospel minister. By fervent prayer and imposition of the hands of the presbytery a most weighty and important trust has been committed to you. As a minister of the New Testament you are invested with the pastoral care and oversight of the church and religious assembly usually worshiping in this house.

I am now, in compliance with the order of this ecclesiastical council, and as their organ, to address to you the solemn charge.

---

* Rev. David Tenney Kimball was born at Bradford, Massachusetts November 23, 1782. He graduated at Harvard, 1803; taught one year at Phillips Academy, Andover.

Reverend and Dear Sir:—In the name of God and our Lord Jesus Christ, and presence of these witnesses, we do solemnly charge you to TAKE HEED to the Ministry which you have received, and fulfill it. Preach the Word. Be instant in season, and out of season; reprove, rebuke, exhort, with all long suffering and doctrine. Illustrate the Gospel of the Grace of God, and, with all possible clearness and fidelity, point out to fallen men the way of salvation. That you may shew yourself a Scribe well instructed unto the Kingdom of Heaven, a Workman that needeth not to be ashamed, converse much with the holy scriptures, and imbibe the spirit of the inspired authors. Endeavor to be well acquainted with the doctrines, duties, and motives of religion, that you may clearly explain, fully confirm, and successfully recommend them to your hearers. Having the ministry of reconciliation committed to you, preach not yourself, but the unsearchable riches of Christ; proclaim to the obstinate the terror of the Lord; testify to all repentance toward God, and faith toward our Lord Jesus Christ—teaching the necessity of the renovation of the heart, and of evangelical holiness.

As a faithful watchman, take heed to all the flock over which the Holy Ghost has made you Overseer, and watch for their souls as one that must give account. Be attentive to the state of your flock. Shun not to declare the whole counsel of God, and, with impartiality, apply yourself to all ages and characters, without respect to persons. Fidelity to your sacred office will engage you to bear testimony against vice in all its forms, and to plead the cause of true religion and virtue.

Not only in your public ministrations, but in your private intercourse with your people, be ready to instruct, direct, and encourage inquiring minds—to assist the weak, satisfy the doubting, and comfort the disconsolate and afflicted. Visit the houses of sorrow, and attend at the beds of the sick and dying, mingling your sympathetic affections with their woes, and applying to their wounds the balm of divine consolation. Cheerfully engage in all those offices of piety and charity which may have a tendency to promote the spiritual interest and best good of your people.

My Brother:—Give no offense in any thing, that the Ministry be not blamed. Let it be your concern to exemplify the doctrines and duties you preach, in your own life and conversation. Seek after a growing acquaintance with the power of religion in your soul, and study to live as the humble, watchful, faithful servant of God in all the walks of life, going before your people in the ways of piety and charity, of peace and righteousness.

You are entering on your work at a time when the ministers of the gospel may be called to peculiar labors and trials. To contend for the faith once delivered to the saints; to adhere with firmness to the plan of religion which we believe is evidently contained in the sacred scriptures; to preserve peace and order; to prevent those inclosures from being broke down, which have ever been the safety and ornament of the church; to guard the unwary from being blown about by every wind of doctrine, is, undoubtedly, the duty of every gospel minister. You are, therefore, not to view it as a post of honor, but of difficulties and trials, to which you are called. Unwearied diligence, unremitting vigilance, much self-denial, and unceasing intercession at the throne of grace, are necessary to discharge the duties which devolve upon you. But, however arduous your work may appear, listen to no discouragements. The Master, to whose service you have devoted yourself, has given you the encouraging and animating promise: Lo, I am with you alway. My Grace is sufficient for you.

In the course of your ministerial labors you will administer the sacraments of the New Testament. Admit to baptism those who have a right to this ordinance. Suffer little children to come to Christ, and forbid them not. Invite to the table of the Lord those who give evidence of gospel qualifications. In the discharge of this very important part of your ministerial duty make the word of God your rule, and not the devious doctrines of men. Dispense with impartiality the discipline which Christ has appointed in his church. Exercise the authority you have now received in separating others to the work of the ministry. But lay hands suddenly on no man.

And may you, my dear sir, have the joy to see the work of the Lord prosper in your hands. May it please God to support you in all your trials, and comfort your heart in all your sorrows. May you be a burning and shining light, and be made happily instrumental in bringing many to glory. When you are called from your labors on earth, may you receive the reward of a faithful servant, and go to be forever present with the Lord. AMEN.]

[The interleaved Almanac for 1807 is lost.]

June 7, 1808. Set out for Hampton, to attend the installment of Mr. Webster. Dea. Math. Whipple went with me. Dined at Captain Allen Dodge's, in Newburyport, and lodged at Colonel Tappan's, in Hampton.

June 8. The Council, consisting of 20 churches, about 50 in number, formed at 9 o'clock, A. M. I was chosen Moderator, and Mr. D. Dana, Scribe. Interesting matters came before the Council respecting Mr. Webster's dismission from Chebacco. Unanimous vote passed to proceed to installment. Procession formed at 12, and proceeded to the Meeting House. I stated to the church and congregation generally the doings of the Council. The Scribe read the list of Council, and all the proceedings. I then called on the church to renew their call, and Mr. Webster to reply. Some good pieces of music performed as we went in, and before prayer. Dr. Buckminster prayed, Mr. Worcester* preached, Dr. Thayer prayed before the charge, Mr. Peabody gave the charge, Mr. Abbot the Right hand, and Mr. Dow the last prayer. A very large, crowded Assembly, and perfect order. The Council richly entertained at Colonel Tappan's.

July 4, *Monday*. Independence. We went to Salem. Procession formed at the Court-house. Escorted by the Washington Rangers, moved to Dr. Barnard's Meeting House. Dr. Barnard prayed. Mr. Saltonstall delivered a spirited Federal oration. Excellent music on the organ, and by the band. Another procession moved to Mr. Hopkins' Meeting House, consisting of all the Independent Military Companies except one. A military oration by Mr. Story. Mr. Hopkins prayed. Dined with the Federalists, and returned in the evening.

---

* Rev. Samuel Worcester, D.D., clergyman; born at Hollis, N. H., 1770, and died at Brainard, Tenn., June 7, 1821; Dartmouth College, 1795. He was pastor of the Tabernacle Church, of Salem, Massachusetts, from 1803 to the time of his death; Corresponding Secretary of Foreign Missions, 1810. Rev. Dr. Samuel Melancthon Worcester was his son.—*Drake's Dict. Am. Biog.*

August 15, *Monday.* Town Meeting, in consequence of a Letter from the Selectmen of Boston, requesting the Towns in the Commonwealth will unite in petitioning the President to suspend the Embargo. I attended, and moved certain votes complying with the request, and for a committee to prepare a petition. Myself, Mr. Barnabas Dodge, Mr. Francis Quarles, Mr. Barnabas Dodge, Jun., and Colonel Dodge, were appointed, and reported a petition, which was accepted.

Mr. Hitchborn and wife, the two Misses Hitchborn, Mrs. Glover, and a servant, came in a coach, and lodged with us. Much company to-day, which prevented me from preparing for Town Meeting as I intended.

Aug. 16, *Tuesday.* Our friends from Boston went on Eastward. Dr. Torrey, Mr. Poole, Captain Berry, and Captain Hacker, and their wives, came. We all, with Temple and Sophia, went over the ponds to fish, and collect berries. Tea in the woods. Came home, and dined—a handsome dinner prepared. Most of the children came.

Sept. 22, *Thursday.* Preached a lecture at Esq'r Giddings', on account of his long confinement. Sent a letter to Hon. Jos'h Quincy, containing $16 for the Hist. Society.

December 2. At home all day. Company. Mr. Jefferson's conscripts drafted. Eleven men—eight Federalists, three Democrats.

July 4, 1809, *Tuesday.* Went on to Boston with Samuel Blanchard, Esq. Arrived at 10, and put our baggage at his brother's, in Brattle Street Square. We went directly to the Senate Chamber, and were introduced to his Excellency, Governor Gore. Met Lieutenant-Governor Cobb, President Adams, Judge Paine, Mr. Gerry, and a very great number of my old acquaintances. At 11 the procession moved, consisting of the Executive Council, Senate, Representatives, civil and military officers of the town, etc., escorted by the Cadets to the Old South Meeting House, where divine service was performed, and an Oration delivered by Wm. Tudor, Jun., Esq. We returned to the Council Chamber, where a collation was served. Mr. Blanchard and myself dined at his son Frank's. Went to Mr. Lyman's—ate cantaloupes. Called on Samuel Gardner. In the evening went on the Common to see the fireworks and the illumination of the Exchange Coffee-house.

July 5. Mr. Blanchard and I, with Mr. Williams, went to Cambridge. At President Webber's, Mr. Peck's and at the the Botanic Garden. Dined at Mr. Lyman's, Boston, and after dinner rode with Mr. Lyman in his carriage, to his seat at Waltham. Great treat of fruit. Returned in the evening to Mr. Williams'.

July 6. Went to see Mr. Pickering's most excellent portrait by Stuart, at Mr. Pratt's. Very complaisantly received. Dined at Mr. Hitchborn's.

July 11, *Tuesday*. Association in Salem at Mr. Worcester's. All the members present. Dr. Griffin preached a good sermon, handsomely delivered. I was Moderator. An excellent and elegant dinner.

July 14. Studied hard. Received a diploma from the Linnean Soc'y, Philada., by Dr. Muzza.

July 24. Mr. Blanchard here. Colonel Gibbs, of Rhode Island, late from Europe, called with introductory letters; going to the White Mountains to examine the fossils. I visited Judge Pickering, who returned from Congress last week. Saw the Whig-demo-paper, containing a scandalous calumny on him, respecting a letter to S. Williams, London.

Dec. 20. Summoned to go to Salem, to give evidence before the Supreme Court on the trial of Dr. Thomson * for murder. [Before Judge Parsons, respecting the medical properties of lobelia.]

---

* Dr. Samuel Thomson, author of the Thomsonian Theory and Practice of Medicine, was born in Alstead, New Hampshire, Feb. 9, 1769. His early life was spent in hard labor upon a farm, and his education was limited. About 1793 he introduced the Lobelia into medicine under a peculiar system of practice. He was bitterly de-

May 22, 1810. Attended the committee for forming the Bible Society at Dr. Barnard's. Dr. Holyoke, Colonel Pickman, Mr. John Pickering, Doctors Treadwell and Oliver present. Some opposition. Came home.

[On *June* 27, 1810, Dr. Cutler went to Mr. Allen's, in Bradford, to attend the meeting of the General Association of Massachusetts proper. He was unanimously elected Moderator, and Mr. Worcester, Scribe. Mr. Hale was the standing Secretary. About seventy ministers were present, and the sessions continued three days. Dr. Cutler and Dr. Lyman were chosen to represent the Association at the meeting of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Churches of the U. S. of America, at Philadelphia the next May. At the close of the meeting Dr. Cutler was complimented with a vote of thanks, and the "Association dissolved after a very pleasing meeting, great harmony, and perfect order."]

July 9. Went with Esquire Blanchard to view Mr. Hersey Derby's * garden. Much pleased with it. Saw the cactus grandiflora, or night-flowering cereus, in the green-house,

---

nounced by the regular medical profession, and finally an open charge of murder was preferred against him, in 1808, for sweating two children to death, and again, in 1809, for the murder of a young man named Lovel, who had died under his attention. Dr. French charged that he "did kill and murder the said Lovel with lobelia, a deadly poison." His friends induced Judge Theophilus Parsons to hold a special session of court at Salem. Tyng's Reports, Vol. VI., states, that on the claim of ignorance only did the Judge instruct the jury to acquit Thomson. Dr. Thomson died in Boston, Mass., 1843, after a tedious application of his own medicine The first printed record of the emetic properties of lobelia is by Rev. Manasseh Cutler, who named it emetic weed. See Account of Indigenous Vegetables, Am. Acad. Sciences, 1785, p. 584.—*Drugs and Medicines of North America (J. U. and C. G. Loyd), Dec.*, 1886.

* Mr. E. Hersey Derby was the son of Elias Haskett Derby (known in the annals of Salem as King Derby), who was prominent in Salem as a ship-builder, owner, and merchant. He was the founder of the East India trade to America, and also the American trade with Russia. Hersey Derby lived on a farm near Salem. A charming description of his garden, as it appeared in 1802, will be found in a letter from Miss Elizabeth Southgate, published in "A Girl's Life Eighty Years Ago."

beginning to bloom. The plant has a long stem, resembling a pumpkin-vine, but no leaves. One flower comes out annually of the size and form of a goose-egg. Began to open at 5, and continued to open until 11 o'clock at night, when it began to close; in the morning quite wilted.

July 10. Association at Mr. Dana's, Marblehead. Attended. Mr. Lincoln prayed and Mr. Anderson preached. An agreeable day. On our return Dr. Prince and I stopped at Mr. Derby's. Examined the night-flower, dissected it, and brought it home to preserve; also the flower of the Calycanthus floridus, a most fragrant flowering shrub, of which I am to have some young shoots next spring.

Aug. 14. Lecture at Esquire Giddings' at sunset. Remarkably full, supposed to be 200 people, and would have been more if the weather had been fine.

Aug. 22. Attended a meeting at the court-house, Salem, for forming a Bible Society. Chose a committee to draught a constitution. Myself, Mr. Worcester, Mr. Abbot, Mr. Dana, and Mr. Torrey. At 2 o'clock met again at the court-house. Constitution accepted. Chose Colonel Thorndike * President, and me Vice-President.

Sept. 18. Rev. Mr. Richards, of Newark, and Rev. Mr. McDowell. of Elizabethtown, N. J., here, and spent some time.

April 17, 1811. Attended a meeting of a committee of the Bible Society, at Dr. Barnard's. Present: Messrs. Wadsworth,†

---

* Colonel Israel Thorndike; born in Beverly, Mass., about 1757. He was a member of the state Convention for the adoption of the Federal Constitution. Removed to Boston and took a high stand among merchants and politicians. In 1818 he purchased the library of Prof. Ebeling, of Hamburg, which contained between three and four thousand volumes of American history or kindred works, at that time the most complete collection of newspapers, pamphlets, state papers, and books relating to America extant. The public are under lasting obligations to him for bringing this treasure to the United States. He died May 10, 1832. His fortune was the largest that had ever been left in New England.—*Am. Biog.* (*Sam'l L. Knapp*).

† Rev. Benjamin Wadsworth, D.D., was born in Milton, Massachusetts, 1750. He graduated at Harvard, 1769, studied theology, and was licensed to preach in 1772. In December of that year he was

Worcester, Moses Brown, and Dr. Barnard. Society met at the court-house at 2 o'clock. Accepted Incorporating Act and Constitution. Chose officers. I was unanimously chosen President, and Major Brown, Vice-President. Trustees met and chose managers.

July 7, *Lord's Day*. Preached. Sacrament. Baptism. Contribution for Newburyport fire. $25½ collected, which, with subscription, $214, makes $239½.

Jan. 20, 1812. [A disastrous fire occurred in Dr. Cutler's study, an account of which has been given elsewhere in this volume.]

Feb. 7, *Friday*. Received a letter from Dr. Torrey, giving us the painful intelligence of the death of Captain Berry. He was taken with a pulmonic fever, last Friday, and died this morning at 8 o'clock. [Captain Jacob Berry was a pupil of Dr. Cutler's, and married his second daughter, Lavinia. He was engaged in the East Indian trade, and was an estimable man. He left no children.]

April 15. Annual meeting of Bible Society. Accepted the trustee's report. Made choice, unanimously, of the same President and other officers for the ensuing year.

June 28. Mr. Thurston and Deacon Bingham here; also Dr. Worcester, who had the *Declaration of War* which passed Congress, and was signed by the President on the 18th instant.

July 1. Town Meeting to consider Boston Resolutions, and to answer a letter from their Selectmen. I attended and acted. Prepared papers for Selectmen.

July 23. Fast through this commonwealth on account of the war. Full meeting. Captain King, with his Light Infantry Company, marched out of Salem yesterday for exercise in the field, and encamped on Mr. Potter's ground last night, and attended meeting this morning. Took their seats

---

called to the Congregational Church, at Danvers, Massachusetts, where he continued until his death, in 1826. Harvard College conferred the degree of D.D. upon him in 1816. Dr. Wadsworth was essentially a practical man, and was not only the spiritual guide, but the adviser to many of his parishioners in their temporal affairs.—*Sprague's Annals of the American Pulpit.*

in the two side galleries. The band of music with the singers. A very fine company and behaved with great propriety.

Aug. 19. Finished sermon for fast with much difficulty, but not till very late. Have been confined to my chair for several nights and all this night. Almost famished for want of sleep.

Aug. 20. Fast appointed by Mr. Madison through the United States on account of the war. Preached, but extremely feeble. Got through better than I expected. Tho' an extremely busy season, quite a full meeting, and very attentive. By my request Mr. Quarles read the address of the Convention of the County of Essex. Some Demos A. M.; none P. M.

Nov. 12. Town meeting for the choice of five Electors of a President and Vice-President for the Middle Circuit of the Court of Common Pleas. Peace ticket, 108; War Hawks, 14.

[Dr. Cutler was engaged in revising the manuscript of a work, descriptive of the Western Country, by his son, Major Jervis Cutler, which was printed in 1812.]

Jan. 3, 1813, *Lord's Day.* Preached, A. M., a New Year's Discourse; P. M., to young people.

April 21. Meeting of the Trustees of the Bible Society at 10 o'clock. Dined at Dr. Barnard's. At 2 o'clock the Society met and held their annual meeting. Made choice of officers; same as last year. At 4 o'clock the Society moved in procession to Dr. Barnard's Meeting House to attend public exercise. Dr. Barnard began with prayer. I delivered a sermon. Mr. Abbot made concluding prayer. Collection for the Society about 100 dollars. Excellent singing. After the exercise, the Society voted to request a copy of the sermon for the press, and appointed a committee to superintend the printing.

[Upon receipt of a copy of this sermon, General Rufus Putnam wrote to Dr. Cutler as follows:

MARIETTA, OHIO, *June* 25, 1814.

Reverend and Dear Sir:—I thank you for your excellent sermon, delivered before the Bible Society of Salem and vicinity. What a wonderful spirit has gone forth within a few years in providing for the spread of the Gospel in various ways and by various means. I congratulate you, my dear friend, on the downfall of Napoleon and the prospect of a general peace in Europe. By this wonderful political revolution is there not reason to believe that Providence is opening a door for the diffusion of the scriptures in Papist as well as other countries, far beyond any thing experienced for many centuries past? We know that when Christ came in the flesh the world was in a state of profound peace which greatly facilitated the spread of the gospel during the apostles' day. And now if we admit that the exertions that have been making in the Protestant world for years past indicate a special providence designed as a means for the spread of the gospel, why shall we not admit that the hushing the European Nations to peace in such a wonderful manner is another link in the same chain of means to effect the same purpose.

God works by means, and He always chooses the best, and one means always concurs with another, hence "how shall they hear without a preacher, and how shall they preach except they be sent," and how can missionaries and Bibles be sent with hope of success among a people engaged in war and blood? From present appearances, I think there is great reason to hope for a long peace in Europe, and I sincerely rejoice at the prospect. But what is to become of America? Many, I find, expect a speedy peace. For myself I am in doubt. When I reflect on the conduct of our administration I can find no reason to suppose we have a friend or any that will take our part among all the powers of Europe; our conduct towards Spain in refusing to receive the Minister of Ferdinand; in seizing upon West Florida; in stirring up and actually aiding the insurrection in East Florida, and even encouraging the insurrections in Mexico, are crimes there is reason to expect an atonement will be called for.

With respect to France, we certainly can expect to have no credit with the Bourbon family for the part we took in favor of Bonaparte, nor can Alexander be pleased with our going to war with England, at the moment when Bonaparte was invading his country; and can we have any hope in the clemency of England? I think not. She well knows that while she was struggling for her very existence our administration were in close clandestine league with her mortal enemy, notwithstanding all their pretenses to the contrary. There is not a Court in Europe but what must feel that under Providence they are much indebted to England for their present independence and peace. England doubtless has a right to claim some indemnity for the injury we have done her by invading Canada, and I see but two reasons why she will not make the demand: First, her pride, viewing the administration with contempt, and the other is our future trade, which doubtless she will wish to secure.

However, I expect she will demand an indemnity; perhaps she will demand a boundary-line in the Western Country, but more probably she will demand the relinquishment of the right of fishing on the Grand Banks; and should she make this demand I have no doubt but it will be given up. It will be a sweet revenge upon New England for their opposition to the war. Perhaps, and I hope, I am mistaken, but I have no better opinion of several members of the Cabinet, and one of the Commissioners, at least.

Remember me to all inquiring friends.

I am, with due respect and esteem,
Dear sir, your obedient servant,
RUFUS PUTNAM.]

April 27, *Tuesday.* Went to Salem, spent the day with Dr. Worcester, in his study, revising my sermon preached before the Bible Society, which is going to the press.

April 28. Summoned before the Supreme Court as a witness respecting Mrs. Norris' will. Delighted with Judge Parsons as a Judge. He sat alone.

June 8. At Salem. Called at Mr. Derby's. Got 70 of my sermons at Mr. Cushing's for subscribers.

Oct. 20. Bible Soc. Meeting. Mr. Pickering present. Voted Bibles for the prisoners in the prison ships.

Dec. 31. Read Embargo Law, which has just taken place. A most infamous piece of tyranny.

Jan. 17, 1814. About the neighborhood. News of Bonaparte driven to France.

Feb. 12. Wrote to Mr. Pickering, Mr. Taggart, and Samuel M. Burnside, Worcester, Secretary of the Antiquarian Society, accepting my election as a member.

Feb. 15. Attended the funeral of Mr. Anderson as a pall-holder. The other pall-holders—Mr. Thurston, Dr. Worcester, Mr. Abbot, and the two Mr. Emersons, of Salem and Beverly. Mr. Abbot made the first prayer. Dr. Worcester preached from 2 Tim. 1:12; an excellent sermon. The last prayer by Mr. Emerson, of Beverly. A very large concourse of people, many from the neighboring societies. House crowded, and meeting very solemn.

March 8. Annual Town Meeting. Opened meeting with prayer. A very peaceable meeting, although Demo's attended. Voted my usual salary, $450, without any objection, and gave me, by a very full vote, the large oak in the burying-ground.

Mar. 31. About 150 Continental soldiers passed to the Eastward, commanded by Major Putnam, said to be going to Eastport. They dined in front of the Meeting House.

July 4, *Monday.* Mrs. Cutler and I set out early for Dr. Torrey's. Went into Salem to attend the anniversary of Independence. At Captain Orne's. Joined the procession in Court Street. Walked with Dr. Barnard. Oration in his Meeting House, by Leverett Saltonstall, Esq. Very excellent throughout, and singing excellent. Vast crowd of people. I was invited to dine at the public dinner at the Coffee-house, but I declined, and dined at Mr. Poole's.

July 12. Association at Mr. Emerson's, Salem. Set out early. Present: Messrs. Prince, Abbot, Dana, Green, Frothingham, Jewett, Walker, Bartlett, and Hurd. Mr. Abbot performed the whole exercise; an excellent sermon on Christian Zeal. Examined and approved Messrs. Talcot and Flint to preach.

Aug. 10. Mr. Crowell's ordination at Chebacco. I went with Deacon Whipple in his chaise. Council met at Mr. George Choat's, ten churches. Dr. Hopkins, Moderator; Mr. Kimball, Scribe. I was excused from taking any part, on account of ill-health. Large and attentive assembly, perfect order, and a fine day.

Aug. 21, *Lord's Day.* Read a report of the General Association on keeping the Sabbath. Preached on the fourth commandment to a very full meeting.

Aug. 29. News of the British taking Washington. Capitol blown up.

Sept. 28. At night, about 10 o'clock, alarm at Salem. Small arms and cannon fired, bells rung, drums beaten. Our bell rang, and many of the militia came with their arms. About 12, heard to be only some fishing boats coming in.

Oct. 3, *Monday.* Captain Safford went with me to Salem, to attend the funeral of Dr. Barnard,* who died of apoplexy, Saturday night at 12 o'clock. Bearers: Mr. Fuller, myself, Mr. Wadsworth, Mr. Thurston, Mr. Abbot, and Mr. Dana. All the Association and many other clergy present. Very great number of people; Meeting House full in all the aisles. Mr. Abbot made the first prayer; Mr. Wadsworth preached; Mr. Thurston prayed; I pronounced the benediction. Came home fatigued, but had a good night.

Oct. 23, *Lord's Day.* Preached. Proposed to the people a meeting on Thursday afternoon at 2 o'clock, with a view of delivering a century sermon,† being 100 years since the foundation of this church and society.

Oct. 27, *Thursday.* This day closes a century from the day this church was embodied and a pastor ordained over them. I had proposed a public exercise, to observe in a religious manner this period of time. The Assembly was very full; a number from out of town. The singers introduced the solemnity with an anthem; I preached; and, after the benediction, they closed with a select piece of sacred music.

Nov. 28, *Monday.* In the evening, at ten minutes after seven, a heavy shock of an *Earthquake*. I was sitting by my study table. The rumbling noise was loud before the trembling was felt. House shook so as to cause a clattering of furniture and shaking of books on my table. The trembling of the floor under my chair was very considerable. It was rather a trembling and shaking than an undulating motion, which lasted about half a minute. The rumbling noise came very evidently from the S. W., and went off N. E. I opened an eastern window, and distinctly heard the rumbling passing off N. E. for some time, and to a considerable distance, before it ceased. Atmosphere clear, moon shined bright; weather mild, but cool and entirely calm.

---

* Rev. Thomas Barnard, D.D., was pastor of the "North Church," at Salem, Massachusetts, from 1773 until his death, October 1, 1814. He was a graduate of Harvard, 1766; studied theology with Dr. Williams, of Bradford, and received the degree of D.D. from the Universities of Edinburgh and Providence, in 1794.—*Sketch of Salem, by Osgood and Batchelder.*

† This sermon was published, and will be found in the Appendix.

Dec. 17, *Saturday.* Deacon Appleton and I went to Salem, and agreed with Mr. Cushing to print my Century discourse, 200 copies at $25, and $5 per hundred for 200 more. Called on Mr. Abbot and Major Brown.

Jan. 12, 1815, *Thursday.* National Fast, recommended by Congress and appointed by Madison. Pretty full meeting. People felt doubts about observing this day. I said little about politics.

Feb. 13. *News of Peace*, well authenticated. Great rejoicing in Salem, Boston, and Newburyport.

[When the ratification of the Treaty arrived, the General Court of Massachusetts appointed February 22, as it was the birthday of General Washington, for rejoicing, which was observed in most of the towns of the commonwealth. In Hamilton, the flag was hoisted, bell rung, cannon fired, and the militia paraded. At 2 o'clock, Dr. Cutler assembled his people for a religious exercise in the Meeting House, where, after psalmody and reading Scripture, he made an address of twenty minutes, followed by prayer, thanksgiving, music, and the benediction. A brilliant illumination and a public supper closed the day, without accident or the slightest disorder.]

March 14. Annual Town Meeting. Prayed at the opening of the meeting. Addressed them, after prayer, on the subject of choosing tithing men, and also on standing abroad on the Sabbath after services begin.

April 20. Ordination of Mr. John Emory Abbot, successor to Dr. Barnard. Council met at Concert Hall. Large council. I was chosen Moderator. On account of asthma, I desired President Kirkland to make the prayer. Very full assembly. I introduced the services, the church renewed vote, etc. Mr. Nichols, of Portland, prayed; Mr. Channing, of Boston, preached; Mr. Abbot, of Beverly, made consecrating prayer; Dr. Prince, the charge; Mr. Frothingham, Boston, right hand; Mr. Bartlett, of Marblehead, concluding prayer. Fine singing. Dined at Pickering Hall at Coffee House. About 300 present.

May 9. Association met here. Present: Mr. Wadsworth, Dr. Prince, Mr. Thurston, Mr. Abbot, Dr. Worcester, Mr. Emerson, of Salem, Mr. Walker, Mr. Frothingham, Mr. Bartlett, Mr. Jewett, members; Mr. Crowell, who was admitted a member; Mr. Coggswell, lately ordained at Dedham, who preached; and Mr. John E. Abbot, of Salem, who made the first prayer. Dr. Faulkner dined with us. We had a pretty full meeting of the people, although the season is remarkably busy.

[Dr. Cutler met with a very heavy affliction in the unexpected death of the devoted companion of his life. Mrs. Cutler died suddenly, Thursday, November 2, aged seventy-four years. Her lovely Christian character, her kindly and excellent disposition, had greatly endeared her to her family and friends. Her husband writes: "Distressing event; more than I could have anticipated! May God grant a wise and sanctifying improvement. We mourn, but I trust our loss is her everlasting gain." The funeral, which was largely attended, occurred on Monday, November 6th. Rev. Dr. Dana preached from Isa. 51:6. Dr. Dana, Dr. Worcester, Mr. Abbot, Mr. Walker, Mr. Kimball, and Mr. Crowell were the pall-holders. Captain Brown, Lieutenant Edward Whipple, Lieutenant David Giddings, and Mr. Sam. Lummus, under-bearers. Dr. Cutler closes the account of the funeral with: "May I be ready to follow my beloved wife at any moment I may receive the call."]

April 3, 1816, *Wednesday*. Attended the funeral of Major Swasey,* who dropped down dead in the Court-house on Monday. Invited by Mr. Hubbard. Dr. Dana unable to go out.

---

* Major Joseph Swasey suddenly expired while taking off his coat to perform his duties as Town Clerk. . . . He was a meritorious

Corpse carried into the meeting-house. Mr. Kimball prayed. Funeral dirge sung.

May 1. Quarterly fast at Chebacco. Also a meeting of ministers of this Association, who held conferences to criticise their own sermons. Present: Dr. Dana, Mr. Kimball, Dr. Worcester, Mr. Emerson of Salem, Mr. E. of Reading, and Mr. Walker.

June 12. Annual meeting of the Bible Society. Chose all the same officers again. Walked in procession to Dr. Prince's Meeting-house. Dr. Prince preached.

Oct. 30. Attended a meeting at the Court-house in Ipswich, of members from the towns in the County of Essex, for forming an Auxiliary Society to the parent Society in Boston for educating poor, pious, young men for the ministry. Accepted a constitution and organized a Society. The Hon. Wm. Read, President; Hon. Nath'l Cleaveland, Rev. Dr. Dana, and Leverett Saltonstall, Vice Presidents; Jos. Lord, Treasurer; Rev. Mr. Kimball, Secretary; Nath. Lord, Esq., and Rev. Mr. Emerson, Auditors; Rev. Dr. Cutler, Rev. Dr. Wadsworth, Rev. Dr. Daniel Dana, Rev. Dr. Worcester, and Rev. Mr. Bramen, Managers. Dined at Major Burnham's. Sermon by Dr. J. Dana. Collection, $86.40.

March 3, 1817. Had letter from Mr. Taggart—the last of twelve years' close Congressional correspondence.

April 22. Attended a special Association to examine a number of candidates for the ministry at Mr. Walker's, Danvers. Seven were examined and licensed—all from Andover Seminary, and all College graduates.

June 3. Attended Board of Managers of Essex Ed. Soc. at Dr. Dana's.

June 11. Anniversary of Bible Society. Made choice of the officers of last year, except a little change in the 16 Trustees. Mr. Abbot, of Beverly, preached a good sermon.

July 8. [When President Monroe made his tour of inspection of the defenses of our Northern frontier, in 1817, Dr.

---

officer in the Revolutionary war, was Representative from 1800 to 1807 inclusive. He enjoyed in an eminent degree the confidence of his townsmen.—*Felt's History of Ipswich.*

Cutler went to Salem on the occasion of his visit to that place. He writes: "Vast concourse, procession moved to Essex Coffee-house. Address delivered by Colonel B. Pickman. Answer good, and appeared to be extemporary. Went to Town Hall. Introduced to the President. Went to the Common and saw the review."]

July 10. By invitation of Colonel Thorndike, breakfasted with him at seven, in company with the President and suite—perhaps 150 gentlemen. Went to the top of the house. Conversed with the President.

July 12. [As the President and his escort passed through Hamilton the people assembled at the Meeting-house and formed in line to do him honor. He descended from his carriage, and walked with Dr. Cutler through the procession. The President expressed much satisfaction, and requested the Doctor to express his respects to the people.]

Nov. 4, 1818. Attended the ordination of four missionaries at Salem. Dined with the ministers at Barton's Hotel—about seventy. In the afternoon ordination of Pliny Fisk,* Levi Spaulding,† Miron Winslow,‡ and Henry Woodward.

---

* Rev. Pliny Fisk, born 1792, died October 23, 1825, at Beirut, Syria. He was one of the first missionaries from this country to the Oriental Churches. Mr. Fisk had a strong affinity in the constitution of his mind and the character of his piety to the late Miss Fidelia Fiske of the Nestorian Mission, who was his cousin, and whose praise is in all the churches.—*Missions of Am. Board to the Oriental Churches, R. Anderson, D.D., LL.D.*

† Levi Spaulding, D.D., was born in Jaffrey, New Hampshire, Aug. 22, 1791. He graduated at Dartmouth College, in 1815, and three years later finished his theological course at Andover Seminary. Not long after he received ordination at Salem, Mass. He married Mary Cristie, at Antrim, N. H., Dec., 1818. They embarked June 8, 1819, at Boston, for Ceylon, in company with Messrs. Winslow, Woodward, and Dr. Scudder, and their wives, as missionaries of the A. B. C. F. M. Dr. Spaulding died June 18, 1873, at Odooville, Ceylon, ten days after the fifty-fourth anniversary of his embarkation. Mrs. Spaulding died Oct. 28, 1874. She was the last of that noble band of men and women who came to India previous to 1820 as missionaries of the American Board.—*Miss. Herald, Oct.*, 1873; *Feb.*, 1875.

‡ Rev. Miron Winslow was a most diligent and faithful laborer

After ordination, communion. Dr. Dana of Newburyport officiated. About 700 communicants.

July 21, 1819. Went to Salem to attend the installment of Mr. Elias Cornelius. Mr. Abram Patch my delegate. Met with the council at 9 o'clock in the vestry. Went to the Tabernacle church at 11 o'clock. Mr. Codman, 1st prayer; Dr. Beecher preached; Mr. Smith, ordaining prayer; Dr. Worcester, charge; Mr. Emerson, Right-hand; Mr. Blackford, last prayer.

[In 1820 Dr. Cutler sent in his resignation as President of the Bible Society on account of his ill-health.

In June, 1820, his portrait was painted in Salem, by Mr. Frothingham. He was in his 79th year at that time.

Dr. Cutler was himself a remarkably neat and successful farmer. He made many careful experiments in the tillage of his land, and used the most improved implements in his labors, and sought to promote the best methods among his people. The following letter to Benj. Guild shows a plan to extend these benefits more widely. It may have prompted the action of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences, who at their next meeting, November 6, 1785, passed the following vote: "That a Committee be appointed, whose special Business shall be to attend to the several branches of husbandry; to make experiments, and to endeavor improvements therein; to pursue such methods as they shall judge proper to engage others in promoting the same design; to connect any gentlemen, whether Fellows or not, with themselves, in prosecuting and perfecting the end of their appointment; to publish from time to time such observations as they may determine to be beneficial to the community at large; and from time to time report their proceedings. A Committee was accordingly appointed, which consists of the following gentlemen: Hon. John Bacon, Esq., Loammi Baldwin, Esq., David Cobb, Esq., Hon. Richard Cranch, Esq., Rev. Manasseh Cut-

---

among the heathen in Ceylon and Madras. He married Harriet Lathrop, eldest daughter of Charles Lathrop, Esq., of Norwich, Connecticut.—*Memoir of C. L. Winslow, by Mrs. Hutchins.*

ler, Hon. Francis Dana, Esq., Hon. Timothy Danielson, Esq., Rev. Samuel Dean, Dr. Aaron Dexter, Hon. Timothy Edwards, Esq., William Erving, Esq., Dr. Joshua Fisher, Dr. Ebenezer Hunt, Rev. Simeon Howard, D.D., Hon. Jonathan Jackson, Esq., Hon. Benjamin Lincoln, Esq., Hon. Levi Lincoln, Esq., Rev. David Little, Hon. Samuel Osgood, Esq., Hon. R. T. Paine, Esq., Hon. George Partridge, Esq., Rev. Phillips Payson, Hon. Samuel Phillips, Esq., Hon. Oliver Prescott, Esq., Hon. Theodore Sedgwick, Esq., Hon. William Sever, Esq., Hon. David Sewall, Esq., Hon. John Sprague, Esq., Hon. Nathaniel Tracy, Esq., Hon. Cotton Tufts, Esq., Hon. James Warren, Esq." This Committee met, and a number of Regulations were agreed upon, one of which was: "That the attention of all the members of the Committee shall, as much as possible, be applied to agriculture in its various branches and connections, particularly for promoting a greater increase of the products of this State."

"The Massachusetts Society for Promoting Agriculture," was formed, and Dr. Cutler's certificate of membership is still preserved.]

[*To Benjamin Guild, Esq.*]

IPSWICH, *September* 21, 1785.

Sir:—Agreeable to the proposal of the Committee, that the members give in their respective plans for promoting Agriculture, in writing, I beg leave to suggest my ideas respecting such a plan, which you will find in the paper inclosed. My reasons for proposing an incorporation from Government are, that our object appears to me of such magnitude as can not be successfully pursued without their countenance and aid, and that it is evidently of so much importance to the interest and prosperity of the state that it can not fail of meeting their approbation. The plan of the Massachusetts Society is proposed, that gentlemen of more distinguished characters may take the lead, correspond with foreign Societies or members, have the principal management of premiums and communications, render the institution more respectable, and that there may be a general depository for every thing worthy being preserved.

The County Societies I must think of singular importance, because the success of such a design will eventually depend on the spirit and exertions of the yeomanry at large; that there is a necessity for many to be invited to take an active part who will be exceedingly useful in carrying on the design, but would be improper persons to have the principal management. Besides, their number and distance would be too great to expect any advantages from their being incorporated in one body. But, as the members of the County Societies will probably be taken from nearly every town, and consist of men who will have influence with their neighbors, in this way a very general attention may at once be excited. By meeting in Societies where they will have an opportunity of hearing the subjects of Agriculture canvassed, a spirit of ambition and inquiry can not fail of being excited, and diffused among others.

With respect to premiums, they will doubtless be useful, and in some instances of great importance; but I am fully of opinion if they are made the basis of our plan, the main design must fail. The operation of premiums must be partial; they may excite extraordinary exertions in a few instances, but can never call forth a general attention to all the branches of Husbandry. The most effectual premium, I conceive, that can be offered, will be information of what can and ought to be done. The present almost total ignorance of the people, and the little pains they will ever take, merely of themselves, to get information, render it highly necessary that special pains be taken to make them acquainted with what improvements have been and may be made. I have, therefore, great expectations from a course of publications in the public newspapers, under the direction of the societies and their committees. In this way, extracts from all the best writers on Husbandry, especially such parts as may be adapted to the soils and circumstances of the people in this state, improvements already made, and experiments not yet tried, the advantages to be expected, etc., may be made to circulate among them. The mode will be ready and cheap. Newspapers have now a considerable, and would probably have a greater circulation. But I would not depend only on Newspapers. Communications to the Massachusetts Society, and collections they may make, I should hope would afford a fund for a periodical publication, perhaps once a month; and what had been published worthy preserving might be again published by them in a volume or pamphlets, with other matters.

I have had opportunity of conversing with a considerable number of farmers in this county since I was in Boston, and find they discover dispositions to engage in experiments and improvements in agriculture, beyond my most sanguine expectations, did they know what to do. I would not wish to be, but confess I am enthusiastic in this matter, could we be so happy as to concert a good plan.

Is it possible the General Court can object to a corporation which is designed to excite the industry and activity of the whole state in a matter upon which their very existence almost depends, in which the whole community is jointly concerned? No member can receive the smallest emolument to himself, only in common with the whole community; but, on the other hand, imposes a voluntary tax on himself for the public good. Do they fear combinations that may affect government? If so, why may there not be some saving clause in the incorporating act? I wish the Society to be as abstract as possible from every thing but the design of its institution. But, on the whole, should the committee disapprove such a plan, I shall cheerfully join in any other that may tend to promote so important a design. When a plan is agreed on, pray be so kind as to inform me by a line.

I am, with the highest esteem,

Sir, your most obedient humble servant,

M. Cutler.

P. S.—Would it not be worth while to avail ourselves of the sentiments of some of the principal characters in Government respecting some kind of plan similar to the inclosed?

[Some extracts from a sketch written by Mrs. Eliza Poole Wheeler, for a young brother, give us pleasant memories of Dr. Cutler and his home. She says:

"You ask for any knowledge I have of our venerable grandfather, Rev. Dr. Cutler, of Hamilton. I shall enjoy communicating any reminiscences that still linger in my memory, or facts received from others.

"Dr. Cutler's benevolent, genial, and handsome face, his tall, well-proportioned, portly figure, dressed in a black velvet suit of coat and small clothes, black silk stockings, and silver knee and shoe buckles, was very grand to my childish eyes. His manner was of the old style, courtly type, so rare in these days. His courtesy, though dignified, was affable and alluring. His fine social nature was enlarged and cultivated by his free hospitality, that seldom left a vacant seat at his table; and which, he used to say, should be extended to an equally liberal horse-pitality.

"He married, early in life, Miss Mary Balch, daughter of Rev. Thomas Balch, of Dedham, who possessed a not less amiable and hospitable disposition. Her figure was small and her manner graceful; her complexion a clear brune, while his was a pure blond, with ruddy cheeks.

"Unambitiously settling in a small village, in 1771, called Ipswich Hamlet, not even incorporated, his salary was proportionally limited. I think it never exceeded $450, as the annual amount, with perquisites of wood and other favors, as was the custom; but a handsome income was the result of boarding and teaching candidates for college, and pupils in bookkeeping and navigation from Newburyport, Salem, Ipswich, and other towns in the county. Social and genial, he was a lover of good cheer; his table never lacked abundance or variety, and this was the time when the flow of soul was swiftest, and the dessert was enlivened with a hoarded anecdote, or the relation of a droll incident, or experience. This habit he encouraged as a sanitary measure to create the laugh that waits on appetite, for a merry laugh was his delight.

"It was always a joyful anticipation to us (the children of Dr. Joseph Torrey, and of our father, Deacon Fitch Poole, who married Dr. Cutler's daughters, and the families were near neighbors in Danvers, now Peabody) when we were allowed permission to go to Hamilton, a drive of nine miles, and we always claimed the privilege on the old election day for the Governor, which was the last Wednesday in May. The five boys of the Doctor, the eldest of whom was Rev. Dr. Joseph Torrey, of the Vermont University, who became a distinguished scholar and accomplished linguist, reading sixteen languages before he graduated at Dartmouth, and after added thereto, with enough of our more miscellaneous family to crowd into two vehicles, usually composed the party.

"As we passed the parsonage, and drove around the large area between this and the church, the first object we saw was the cottage of Jesse, the gardener, a freedman, whom Dr. Cutler brought from Washington. He was an honest, good-natured mulatto, who, with a polite greeting, set us on *terra firma*, and with balls and fishing-tackle proceeded to devote himself the entire day to the enjoyment of the boys, leading the way to the pond not far distant.

"Dr. Cutler was deeply interested in horticulture, and his large garden was adorned with many beautiful exotics, and his orchards were enriched with rare and choice fruits. His passionate love of flowers was not satisfied with their dissection and classification, but he enjoyed their beauty and fragrance as well. Besides the special pets that required annual renewal, various vines, not then common, were trained about the house. Over the porch on the south side, fronting the garden, I recollect a thrifty trumpet flower, its brilliant clusters supported by a large trellis. The porch nearer the street was embowered in the more modest honey-suckle, which on a summer morning sent its fragrance through all the house. On the same side, near the window of the front sitting-room, a tall, well-developed moss-rose was lovingly domesticated. In a recess in this honey-suckle porch hung a large barometer, whose subtile movements with childish curiosity we watched, morning and evening, for indications of fair weather. The varied soil on the estate favored the cultivation of rare trees and shrubs, that are found only in their indigenous localities. Here grew the pawpaw and persimmon by the side of strange foreign plants; and in a swamp, not distant, flourished a transplanted magnolia, and in the garden a large tulip-tree. He introduced from England and successfully cultivated the buckthorn, a living, charming substitute for the dead, barren stone wall.

"The study was a large, low-studded room in the south-west corner of the third story, overlooking the hills and dales within a large circumference. The spacious study-chair, placed in front of the cheerful Franklin stove, was furnished with a movable slab, on which his sermons were written. In a corner of the study stood a large celestial globe, of eighteen inches diameter, and our wondering eyes were never weary of criticising the forms, and tracing the progress of the heavenly menagerie. Microscopes revealed wonderful things, and with broader magnifiers we liked to frighten ourselves and each other by the contortions of our homely faces. So there was no lack of amusement, and every visit was educational, drawing out at least a large amount of curiosity, as the basis of that by which in after life it would be gratified.

"Our winter sleigh-ride visits, returning after the long social evening by moonlight, are pleasant memories; sometimes, as on Thanksgiving, embracing both parents and children of both families, and meeting there Uncle Temple and his family. The large, square parlor, the glowing radiance of the huge hickory fire that illuminated every countenance; grandmother, with her sweet face and ladylike manner, sitting near the fire; grandfather, in his large arm-chair under the mirror opposite the fire, and the space on either side filled with his children and happy descendants, engaged in merry, entertaining conversation, made an attractive picture of an old family circle.

"I was, perhaps, ten years old when I first saw Grandfather in the pulpit. The small plain church was well filled with substantial farmers and their respectable families, all on about an equal footing as to rank and worldly possessions; the Minter's, the Lawyer's, and the Doctor's families constituting the acknowledged aristocracy. A quiet, peace-loving people, living together in all neighborly kindness and unity. As the Rev. Dr. arose to commence the service, I was surprised to see him enveloped in a flowing black silk surplice, with the clerical broad muslin bands. After the patient audience had sat through the two hours' service with no extra warmth but that each supplied to himself (for it was winter), we were dismissed with the usual benediction. Instead of the rushing process by which churches were often vacated, the congregation silently and reverently stood in quiet expectation. During this impressive pause, their pastor was deliberately preparing to leave the church. As he passed down the aisle, he was greeted with a respectful bow from every pew, which with head and hand he gracefully returned; and, when he had reached the door, the people slowly retired.

"He was subject for many years to paroxysms of asthma, such as might have discouraged a less resolute man in the same circumstances. For several years before his death, he was compelled to deliver his sermons in a sitting posture in the pulpit. As I once suddenly opened a door in his house, I was transfixed to see him standing with his hands firmly pressed on the top of a chair, and his large strong frame quivering with the futile effort to fill his lungs with the reluctant air.

"Without undue haste, he was always ready and decided in action. When the news of the battle of Lexington reached Hamilton, he made a short address to the minute men before they marched to meet the enemy, and in company with Rev. Dr. Willard rode on horseback to Cambridge as the British were retreating into Boston. Subsequently, he received a commission as chaplain in the army.

"He was prompt in the discharge of ecclesiastical, as well as secular duties. Once, at a meeting of the Salem Bible Society, a question arose whether it should be opened with prayer. The discussion began to wax warm, when Dr. Cutler, who was presiding, rapped on the desk, and said: 'Gentlemen, while the propriety of the duty is being discussed, the duty might have been performed—let us pray.'

"Dr. Cutler knew, personally, many of the distinguished men of his day, among whom were Washington, Hamilton, Franklin, Jefferson, and others famous in the political and scientific world. His acquaintance was sought by intelligent foreigners; of these was Count Castiglioni, a distinguished Italian, who traveled in the United States in 1785–7, and afterward published a book in which he speaks of Dr. Cutler. His intercourse with Lafayette was during the war. When making the tour of this country in 1825, two years after Dr. Cutler's death, Lafayette inquired for him, spoke of a pleasant visit at his house, and recounted with much animation the circumstances of their first acquaintance on Rhode Island, where, he said, Dr. Cutler acted as his Aid-de-camp in 1778."

.The reminiscences of persons who knew Dr. Cutler, show the estimation in which he was held by his contemporaries.

Hon. Allen Dodge writes of him:

"Dr. Cutler was a remarkably neat man, both in his person and in all his surroundings. His fields, and his garden—and he had one of the finest in the whole region, filled with a great variety of plants and trees—his barn, sheds, and other premises, were always in order. A place for every thing, and every thing in its place, was his invariable motto. One of his students, still living, tells me that the room in which the boys studied was kept in the neatest order, and they had to observe a strict regard to neatness, or when he came into the room they incurred his displeasure. As he had many distinguished guests to entertain—and no man was ever more hospitable, not to strangers only, but to all of his people, no matter how poor or humble—he was particularly anxious to have the table set with due regard to order and gentility, thus evincing his respect for his guests. . . . .

"My grandfather, Colonel Robert Dodge, of Hamilton, who was in the war all through the Revolution, a brave and public-spirited man, was ever the devoted and intimate friend of Dr. Cutler, and supported his election (to Congress) most earnestly. That the Doctor did not neglect the spiritual wants of his people during his absence at Washington, letters still preserved abundantly prove. Indeed, his people knew his superior qualifications, and felt highly honored in having their pastor selected for this important office."

Dr. B. F. Browne, of Salem, writes:

"When I was quite a lad, and had been ordered by my father (who then occupied a house in Pleasant Street, in this town) to trim a tree in front of his house, while engaged in this work I sawed off a large limb, which, in its descent, came in contact with a gentleman who was passing. My impression is that he bent under the collision; at any rate, I remember that his hat fell, or was knocked off. My father, witnessing the transaction, came out and began to reprove me in severe language, when the gentleman interposed to avert my father's anger, and very gently and mildly exhorted me to greater carefulness in future. After his departure, my father informed me that he was the Rev. Mr. Cutler, of Hamilton, and that he was a very wise and learned man. Some years after, I was apprenticed to an apothecary in this place, and Dr. Cutler frequently visited my master's shop. I recollect his calm, gentle, and dignified demeanor, and his imposing personal appearance; and he appeared to me to be an oracle, from his familiar acquaintance with our indigenous medical plants, about the botany of which he frequently conversed."

Mr. Ira Cheever, of Chelsea, gives his recollections in the following letter:

"It was my privilege to be intimately acquainted with that venerable and beloved man, the late Dr. Cutler of Hamilton, during the last few years of his life. Reminiscences of this intercourse I will furnish with pleasure. Dr. Cutler's recital of his first introduction to Dr. Franklin made a vivid impression on my mind. It was, I think, on his first journey to Philadelphia. He had a letter from a distinguished acquaintance of Dr. Franklin. He said: 'As I walked up the avenue to his house, I reflected, I am going into the presence of a *great man*—one who had stood before kings and the mighty ones of the earth. I hesitated; my knees smote together; but I could not retreat. I was greatly surprised to see in Dr. Franklin a small, lively, old man in his morning-gown, perfectly simple and unaffected in his appearance and manners. He immediately recognized me as the author of a botanical work—invited me to walk in his spacious and elegant garden; and in five minutes I felt as free and as much at home with him as with my own family or my most intimate friend.'

"My personal acquaintance with Dr. Cutler commenced in December, 1819, when I went to Hamilton as a school-teacher; and my own feelings concerning him were precisely similar to the foregoing. I was invited to tea with him on a certain evening—having frequently heard him preach, and knowing him to be a stately gentleman of the old school. I was extremely embarrassed, young as I then was, on being obliged to enter, as it were, into companionship and sustain conversation with one so dignified and distinguished, but, as in his case with Dr. Franklin, I was perfectly at ease in a few moments; and from that time commenced an intimacy, delightful and instructive to me beyond that afforded me by any other man, and which continued till his death, in July, 1823. Being for some time out of employment, I often passed several hours a day in his study, hearing from his lips the relation of incidents respecting his journey to Ohio; and of the prominent men and events while he was a member of Congress, particularly of John Randolph, and of the debate concerning the increase of the navy; of his journey to the White Mountains, eating fried rattlesnake in one of the huts, etc.; but I forbear. These and other things about him, of his wise counsel, of his unbounded influence in the community where he lived, and of his faithfulness as a pastor and friend for more than half a century; but these have doubtless been communicated by abler persons than myself."

Dr. Cutler's interest in the intellectual advancement of the young people of his charge was constant, and manifested itself in the careful supervision of the public schools, in securing the most competent teachers and the best methods of instruction, and was not relaxed until the infirmities of age forbade the effort. The Private Boarding School, which he began near the close of the Revolutionary War, and continued, except during temporary absences, for thirty-five years, had afforded instruction in that period to hundreds of youth from abroad, and also to many who came, as day-scholars, from families in his own parish.* The fact that he had so much to

---

*In a letter written in September, 1853, the venerable Jonathan P. Felt, of Salem, Massachusetts, gives a partial list of persons from that vicinity who attended Dr. Cutler's school, as follows:

". . . In the first place, from my friend, Captain Samuel Dudley Tucker, a gentleman having a good knowledge of many of our oldest inhabitants, he gives me the names of some who went to the Doctor's school. He names three, Nathaniel Silsbee, Willard Peele, and Andrew Oliver.

Nathaniel Silsbee became one of the earliest East India captains, and a member of the East India Marine Society, and afterward a successful merchant in the Trade to the East Indies. He has been in our State Legislature, a representative and Speaker in one, if not in both do in forming the principles and training the minds of those over whom he was so long placed, may account for the remarkable unanimity with which they acted in religious and

---

Houses. He was many years a Representative in the House, and a Senator for twelve years in the Senate of the U. S.

Willard Peele became one of our eminent merchants and large ship-owners, and for many years was Master of the Marine Society.

Daniel Oliver belonged to an ancient and highly respectable family. He did not go to sea. Captain Tucker speaks of an uncommon severe storm of snow and hail taking place while they were at the Doctor's, so that, when they came home, their route was over the center of Wenham Pond, no roads having been made on the regular route.

Captain Holten J. Breed and Captain Ephraim Symonds were among the students in navigation of Dr. Cutler in 1803. The latter died some years since, a highly respected ship-master of Salem. Captain Breed, after some time spent in studying navigation, became one of our most successful East India Captains (a member of the Marine Society), and during the late War with England, was commander of a number of our private armed ships, cruising all the War with great success; but some of the strongest of the enemy made stout resistance, which he always overcame.

Captain William Molloy was another of the Doctor's scholars. He died some years ago, after many years of successful navigation, and a commander during the late War with England.

John Leach and Thomas Holmes were students in navigation. John Leach died young, when mate of a vessel. Captain Holmes, after studying with the Doctor, and sailing many years a ship-master, became a merchant at Cayenne, S. America. At present living in Salem.

Jonathan Willard Peele, son of the above named Willard Peele, says, besides his father and Nathaniel Silsbee, Dr. Oliver Hubbard was at Dr. Cutler's school. Dr. Hubbard went out to the East Indies as surgeon of the ship America, of Salem; John Crowninshield, commander. After his return, he practiced as a physician in Salem, and died a few years since, leaving a large property to his relatives.

Captain Zachariah Silsbee, brother of Nathaniel, also one of the students, was many years a captain to the East Indies, and has since been living on shore; has been, and now is, concerned in the trade to the East Indies.

Also Joshua Goodale, supercargo to the East Indies, some years a merchant in New Orleans. He spent the latter part of his life in Boston, where he was a Public Weigher of Teas, and died about two years since.

Captain William P. Richardson, as commander of Bark Active, of Salem, was among the very first to engage in the trade of the Feejee political matters, and the undoubted influence he possessed in the community.

He was himself orthodox in his belief, and from the pulpit, as well as by oral instruction and teaching, the "Westminster

---

Islands and Canton, since when the trade has much increased. He was a merchant many years in Salem, where he died.

Captain Daniel Treadwell, of Ipswich, was at school in 1810. During the War, was an officer of the private armed ship America, of Salem; afterward, a ship-master from Boston. He died some years since.

Daniel Pierce, of Salem, went to Sea, but died very young.

Francis Dodge, of Hamilton, became a successful merchant at Georgetown, D. C., where he died a few years since.

Captain Ebenezer Dodge, several years a ship-master, and a long time an extensive Flour Merchant in Salem. Benjamin Knowlton, of Hamilton. Timothy Appleton, of Hamilton. Captain Parker Brown, of Hamilton, a pupil, and many years a ship-master; afterward, a merchant at San Francisco. He is now at Salem, but is soon to return to San Francisco.

Captain Brown names as Dr. Cutler's pupils:

Captain Jacob Berry, a ship-master from Salem, in the East India trade. Married Lavinia Cutler, daughter of Dr. Cutler.

Captain William Francis, after being a ship-master, remained on shore, a mechanic in Danvers.

Captain Zachariah Lamson, of Beverly, many years a ship-master; afterward, a merchant in South America, where he died.

Fitch Poole, of Danvers. Married Betsey Cutler, youngest daughter of Dr. C.

Captain Elisha Whitney, of Beverly, many years a ship-master to the East Indies and Europe. Died at Beverly.

Benjamin Hodges, of Salem, went to Sea, but died very young.

Henry Blanchard, of Wenham, some years Supercargo to the East Indies from Salem.

Francis Blanchard, of Wenham, a merchant in Boston some years, where he died.

Rogers Treadwell, of Ipswich went to Sea; died young.

Benjamin Chapman, many years a ship-master; died a little over a year since.

William Luscomb, of Salem, a very respectable mechanic, died many years ago.

Captain William Fairfield, of Salem. In 1810, he commanded ship Margaret, from Naples, for Salem. On the passage, in a heavy gale, she was capsized, from which she partly righted, which enabled those on board her to remain on deck, she being full of water, in which situation she was left by Captain Fairfield and a boat's crew, who were picked up; afterward, another boat left, with about five more, who

Catechism," which, he said, "contained all the fundamental doctrines of the Bible," he sought to establish his people in the same faith. He, however, availed himself of Sunday-schools as a valuable aid, and established one in his church as early as 1811. He had endeavored to interest the youth in the object, and one Communion Sabbath, after the two sermons were over, and an interval of ten minutes had passed, Dr. Cutler opened his first Sunday-school, of which he writes in his diary: "I began Sunday-school. Between forty and fifty attended, of which thirty-five were females. Read a chapter, which I expounded. Repeated twenty answers in the catechism. I asked them where the text was, morning and afternoon, and the heads of the sermons." For several weeks he conducted and taught the school without assistance. It was an experiment, not the thoroughly organized institution it afterward became. Before it closed for the winter, he writes: "Sunday-school very full; about 80 males and females. Made two classes. Mr. Azor Brown assisted."

Dr. Cutler, as early as 1780, had united, with Messrs. Cleaveland, Dana, and Frisbie, in the observance of a Quarterly Fast and Concert of Prayer for the coming of Christ's kingdom. These meetings were held in rotation in the four churches, and the pastors alternately delivered a discourse prepared for the occasion. The venerable Mr. Cleaveland died in 1799, Mr. Frisbie, who had much of the missionary spirit, died in 1806, but their successors continued to observe the Quarterly Fast. Dr. Dana and Dr. Cutler lived to witness the ordination of many missionaries, for the home and foreign field, and rejoiced in the hope of a triumphant future for the Church of God on earth.

Dr. Cutler was in the habit of holding meetings, for worship and instruction, in the houses of his parishioners in different parts of the town. These were generally well attended.

---

were also picked up. Those who remained, part died, and part were probably lost with the wreck. For particulars, see Felt's Annals, Vol. 2, page 326.

Elliot Woodbury, of Beverly, a long time respectable ship-master, now living in Beverly; and Jacob Woodbury, of Beverly, for many years a respectable ship-master, also still living in Beverly."

A remarkable series of these meetings began in 1774, at the residence of Deacon Nathaniel Whipple, on account of his daughter, who was unable to attend public worship. These were continued with more or less regularity until Dr. Cutler's failing health compelled him to relinquish them, a few years before his own death.

Rev. Dr. Wadsworth observes of Dr. Cutler, that, as a minister, "his object was to win souls to Christ, and establish them intelligent, judicious, and exemplary Christians. His devotional exercises were fervent, breathing the spirit of primitive piety. He was of easy access and ready to communicate, remarkably conversant with his people, and took a deep interest in all their concerns. Conciliating in his disposition, he consulted the things that make for peace and edification."

Temple Cutler, Esq., states: "During the early years of Dr. Cutler's pastorate there were several seasons of uncommon religious interest, and in 1799 occurred a marked revival, commencing among the young people of the congregation, and resulting in very considerable additions to the church. Many of these were intelligent and excellent persons; three of them afterward became settled ministers of the Gospel in other towns. An evidence of the thoroughness of this work was the fact that the church, in no instance, found it necessary to deal with any of them on account of irregularities. A number of conversions occurred in the latter part of his ministry."

Dr. Cutler writes to his son, Ephraim Cutler, in the Northwestern Territory, July 1, 1800: "There has been a very remarkable attention to religion in this town since last fall. It is general, but more especially among young people. It has been still, and without the smallest appearance of excitement. Some instances have been very remarkable, in the alteration which has taken place in the most thoughtless, loose, and careless. Through the winter I gave much attention to it, and now it calls for the whole of my time. I frequently meet with them in small societies; have had many private lectures, and almost daily conferences. Between thirty and forty have been added to the church, and many more will soon be added. I found it necessary to be with them myself as much as possible to prevent enthusiasm, extravagance, or errors. There has been good attention in many towns in Massachusetts and New Hampshire."

Dr. Cutler read law, and was admitted to the bar in 1767, but abandoned it for the ministry. He completed a regular course of study in medicine, and practiced it with signal success, gratuitously administering to the relief of the indigent.

It has been truly said of him, that "patriotism glowed in his heart; that, whether at home or abroad, his mind was intent on projecting great and good plans, consulting the benefit of generations to come. His knowledge of botany, astronomical calculations, meteorological observations, and agricultural improvements, evince the extensive sphere in which his active mind was employed, and how industriously his time was occupied. The asthma, with which he was afflicted, subjected him to peculiar inconveniences, and was attended by paroxysms of extreme distress, which he endured with patience, preserving his usual cheerfulness, and rarely, until near the end of his life, omitting sanctuary or parochial services."

In his diary, September 11, 1821, he writes: "This day it is 50 years since I was ordained in this place. My state of health renders it impracticable to take any public notice of the day. How wonderful that my life should be prolonged to this day! How much I have to be thankful for! And much to be humble for!"

The Rev. Dr. Wadsworth, of Danvers, who preached his funeral sermon, and was an intimate friend, says: "In a familiar interview with Dr. Cutler, a short time previous to his decease, apprehending himself upon the confines of eternity, he observed that he had long been expecting to put off this earthly tabernacle, and could cheerfully welcome the summons. Death was no terror to his mind. Many wearisome days and nights had been appointed him; but he had enjoyed those precious consolations which he had often endeavored to administer to others in trouble. Infinite wisdom, he said, orders all aright, and will overrule all for the best. I have no will of my own, but acquiesce entirely in the divine disposals. Upon a retrospective view of life, he expressed an humble sense of deficiencies and infirmities, but, with melting emotions, declared that his dependence was solely upon the righteousness, atonement, and intercession of Christ, as the foundation of his hope as a Christian."

Obituary notice of Dr. Cutler, published in the Salem Observer (being a communication to that paper) and in the Essex Register, immediately after his death.

Died at Hamilton, on the 28th of July (1823), Rev. Manasseh Cutler, LL.D., in the eighty-second year of his age, and fifty-second of his ministry in that place. The God of nature had endowed him with a sound mind of a superior order, and in the pursuit of knowledge he labored with uncommon success. In several of the sciences, his researches and communications attracted the attention of the literary world, and procured him many honorable marks of distinction. In 1781, he was elected a member of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences, and in 1784, of the Philadelphia Philosophical Society. In 1789, the degree of Doctor of Laws was conferred upon him by Yale College, where he was educated. In 1792, he was constituted a member of the Historical and Agricultural Society of this Commonwealth; in 1809, of the Philadelphia Linnæan Society; in 1813, of the American Antiquarian Society; and in 1815, of the New England Linnæan Society. He was also an honorary member of the Massachusetts Medical Society. He was an ardent, distinguished friend to his country, and possessed an enlightened, discriminating understanding of her best interests. In 1800, and again in 1802, he was chosen by his fellow-citizens as a representative in the Congress of the United States; a station which he filled with dignity, and with satisfaction and advantage to his constituents. But there were studies and services still more important, to which most of his long life was devoted. Of his scientific and political pursuits, though in themselves highly interesting and beneficial to the community, congenial to his taste, and introductory to intercourse and correspondence with men of celebrity on both sides of the Atlantic, he observed during his last sickness that he reviewed them with but little comparative satisfaction, as interfering in some measure with the more imperious claims of that holy office, to which all other claims should be subordinated by those who are invested with it. He regarded the employment of an ambassador of Christ as the most important and honorable on earth. The people of his charge know with what ability and faithfulness he discharged its sacred duties. They can tell the concern he uniformly manifested for their spiritual as well as temporal welfare, with what solemnity and earnestness he reproved, rebuked and exhorted, with all long-suffering and patience, warning every man, and teaching every man in all wisdom, that he might present every man perfect in Christ, and how ready he was to spend and be spent in the service of God and of souls.

Respecting his views of divine truth, we have his living and dying testimony of his belief of what are distinctly denominated the doctrines of grace, embracing the essential divinity of the Savior, the necessity of regeneration by the Holy Spirit, and justification exclusively by faith. His confidence in these and kindred doctrines of the Gospel was strengthened to the last; they were, in his apprehension, the fundamental principles of the Christian system; he inculcated them to others, and on them he rested his own hope of salvation; indeed, what, in the prospect of dissolution, he was particularly desirous to have noticed concerning him, was the deep sense he entertained of the importance of Gospel sentiment, as distinguished from that self-styled rational and liberal faith, which, he said, in his sober judgment, after a careful attention to the most able discussions of the subject, reduces the glorious economy of salvation by grace to a level with the religion of nature. Yet few exemplified a greater degree of candor toward such as differed from him on topics of minor consequence, or paid less regard to the shibboleths of any party. He esteemed it a privilege to live in this age of benevolent enterprise, and was not an unconcerned spectator of the noble exertions of the Christian world to extend the blessings of our holy religion to the ends of the earth. We well remember his zeal in the formation of the Bible Society of Salem and Vicinity, the fervor with which he spoke and acted on that occasion, and the impressive manner in which he officiated as president of that useful institution.

While he delighted to associate with great and good men, and to promote great and good designs, he was remarkably condescending to men of low degree, was particularly attentive to the minute details of business, and by unwearied assiduity and perseverance seldom failed to accomplish what he undertook. Among his ministerial brethren he was esteemed and honored for the commanding dignity of his deportment, the maturity and correctness of his judgment, his refined affability, and affectionate kindness. His extensive acquaintance with men and things, combined with an amiable social disposition, rendered him exceedingly interesting and valuable as a friend, companion, and acquaintance. As a parent at the head of his family, and in all the relations and intercourse of life, he exhibited the temper, and was habitually governed by the maxims of the Gospel, approving himself an example of the believers in word, in conversation, in charity, in spirit, in faith, in purity. Having, as is supposed, long lived the life, he apparently died the death of the righteous, to whom remains a most glorious rest. After a scene of protracted extreme bodily suffering, which he endured with Christian heroism and patience, he calmly resigned his spirit into the hands of the Redeemer, and now we trust is inheriting the promises. "Mark the perfect man, and behold the upright, for the end of that man is peace."

APPENDIX A.

Letter From General Rufus Putnam to Mr. Fisher Ames,* 1790.

Sir:—In conversation with you at New York in July last (if I recollect right), you made this a question: "Can we retain the western country within the government of the United States? And if we can, of what use will it be to them?"

I confess, this subject is far beyond my abilities to do justice to, yet I feel myself so interested in the question that I can not forbear making a few observations thereon. For that those countries may always be retained within the government of the United States, and that it will be our interest they should, is at present my decided opinion.

That they may be retained appears to me evident from the following consideration, viz., that it will always be their interest that they should remain connected. Now, Sir, if I can prove this, I conceive that the proposition that they may be retained, etc., will be fully established; for it is unreasonable to suppose that a people will pursue measures inconsistent with their interest, although it is possible they may. It is true that flour, hemp, tobacco, iron, potash, and such bulky articles will go down the Mississippi to New Orleans for market, and there be sold, or shipped to the Atlantic States, Europe, and West Indies; and it is also admitted that the countries west of the mountains and below or to the southward of the junction of the Ohio with the Mississippi may import goods from New Orleans; and then it is absolutely necessary that the people of the western country, in some way or other, at a proper period, should be possessed of the free navigation of the Mississippi River. It does not, however, follow from hence that it will be for their interest to lose their connection with the Atlantic states; but the contrary will appear if we consider that all the beef, pork, and mutton (from a very great part of the western country) will come to the seaports of Virginia, Maryland, and Pennsylvania to Market. Also, most of the furs and skins, etc., obtained by the Indian trade can be sent to those places and New York much more to the advantage of the West country people than they can be sent to New Orleans and Quebec. Besides, all the goods for carrying on the Indian trade, as well as supplying the inhabitants even to the Kentucky and Wabash countries, are at present imported into that country from Philadelphia, Baltimore, Alexandria, etc., much cheaper than they can be obtained from New Orleans or Quebec.

---

*This is the letter referred to in General Putnam's letter to Dr. Cutler, volume 1, page 450.

Fisher Ames, one of the most eloquent of American writers and statesman, was born at Dedham, Mass., in 1758. He was educated at Harvard College, where he received his degree in 1774. About seven years afterward he began the practice of the law; and an opportunity soon occurred for the display of his superior qualifications, both as a speaker and essay writer. He distinguished himself as a member of the Massachusetts Convention for ratifying the Constitution in 1788, and from this body passed to the House of Representatives in the State legislature. Soon after he was elected the first representative of the Suffolk district in the Congress of the United States, where he remained with the highest honor during the eight years of Washington's administration. On the retirement of the first President, Mr. Ames returned to the practice of his profession in his native town. During the remaining years of his life his health was very much impaired, but his mind still continued deeply interested in politics, and he published a number of essays on the most stirring topics of the day. He died in 1808.—*Biog. of Eminent Men, R. A. Davenport.*

There is also not the least doubt but when the navigation of the Potomac is completed, with the carrying-place to the Monongahela, according to the plan of the undertakers, the transport of goods into the western country will be lowered fifty per cent; and should other communication be opened, which no doubt will be, between the Susquehanna and Alleghany rivers, James river and the Great Kanawha, the expense of transportation will be reduced still lower. In short, from the seaports of the United States to Niagara, Detroit, and even of the Lake of the Woods, goods can be supplied much cheaper than from any other quarter.

From this statement of facts, which I presume can not be disproved, I conceive it fully appears to be the interest of the people of the Western country to remain a part of the United States. If it be said that they may be separated and yet retain all the advantages of trade here mentioned, I answer that it is possible, but by no means probable; for (admitting the separation was not hostile) it is by no means reasonable to suppose that the legislature of the United States would pay the same attention to the subjects of a foreign power as to their own. Nor is it to be presumed that those people will ever forget that while they remain a part of the union, they will have their voice in the councils of the nation, and that no law can pass but what must affect their brethren on this side the mountains, as well as themselves. To be deprived of a commerce with the United States would be greatly to the injury, if not the ruin, of that country; and to voluntarily deny themselves a voice in the regulation of that commerce, and trust themselves (without any check or control) in the hand of those whose interest would be distinct from their own, is a folly I trust they never will be guilty of.

But it may be said there are advantages to be gained which will overbalance all this loss. Pray let us attend a little to this matter. Will they put themselves under the Vice-Roy of Canada? What will be their gain here? A legislative council of the King's own appointment gives law to the province, except that the whole is under the control of a military governor. A few, by permission from Lord Dorchester, or somebody else, may carry goods into the Indian country, but returns must be made to Quebec. Surely, this government can never suit their genius, nor be for their interest. Nor is the advantage to be derived from the Spanish government much better. It is true that New Orleans will be a great mart for their produce, but it is very doubtful if they were Spanish subjects whether they would enjoy greater privileges than they might without. The inhabitants would certainly have no voice in the matter, but must be subject to the will of a despot. They could expect no indulgence but what should comport with the interest of the governor and Spanish Court; and this they may reasonably expect, even should they remain part of the United States, so that if the object be to unite them with Great Britain or Spain, I see nothing that is in the least degree worth their attention.

Perhaps the idea is that they should set up for a separate independent government. This maggot, I know, is in the heads of some people; therefore we will consider it a little and see if we can find it to be for their interest. For argument's sake, we will suppose the United States to consent to all this, we will suppose, moreover, that they grant a free trade to the subjects of this new government, and then pray tell me what they will be the better for it? Nay, will they not be in a much worse situation? Will they not incur a great expense to support their new government beyond what their proportion to the old can possibly be? And can it then be for their interest to be separated?

It may be said that they want a free trade to New Orleans, and thence to the Sea; that while they remain a part of the United States, this is not likely to be obtained; that the interest of the old states and theirs in this respect is inconsistent with each other; that the object is, first to separate themselves from the Union, and then to clear the river of the Spaniards. This, I have heard, is the language of some people in Kentucky; but is it rational? Will the measure be for their interest, and, if not for their interest, are we to suppose the measure will be pursued? Have these people considered that the United States are deeply interested in opposing such separation? Have they considered that driving the Spaniards out of the river will not give them a free trade to the sea? Do they know that the harbors of Pensacola and Havana are so situated that, a few cruisers from them sent into the Bay, not one vessel in a thousand going from or returning to the Mississippi would escape falling into their hands? No, Sir; so far would such a measure be from giving them a free trade to the sea, that it would put an end to their present market, and all reasonable prospects of a compensation for the loss. Nor do I conceive that the interests of the Atlantic states and the Western country, as it respects the navigation of the Mississippi, by any means clash. For it is for the interest of the United States that flour, tobacco, potash, iron, and lumber of all kinds, with ships ready built, should be sent to Europe and the West Indies by way of remittance for goods obtained from those countries. If hemp, flax, iron, and many other raw materials be of any use to be brought into the Atlantic States for the purpose of manufacturing, then it is the interest of those states that the navigation of the Mississippi should be free.

Thus, Sir, I have endeavored to prove that it is and always will be the interest of the Western country to remain a part of the United States. I do not deny but what such circumstances may exist as shall not only make it the wish of some, but of all, the inhabitants of that country to be separated from the old States, but what I contend for is, that these circumstances do not, nor ever can (if I may be allowed the expression) exist naturally. I allow that, should Congress give up her claim to the navigation of the Mississippi or cede it to the Spaniards, I believe the people in the Western quarter would separate themselves from the United States very soon. Such a measure, I have no doubt, would excite so much rage and dissatisfaction that the people would sooner put themselves under the despotic government of Spain than remain the indented servants of Congress; or should Congress by any means fail to give the inhabitants of that country such protection as their present infant state requires, connected with the interest and dignity of the United States; in that case such events may take place as will oblige the inhabitants of that country to put themselves under the protection of Great Britain or Spain. I know, also, that in every country there are ambitious minds who, paying more attention to the emoluments of office than the public good, may influence people to pursue, as the object of their happiness, measures which will end in their ruin. But these things make nothing against my proposition, for we are not to suppose that Congress will do wrong when it is their interest to do right; and this brings me to inquire of what use those countries may be to the United States. First, the lands of the Western Territory, which are the property of the United States, except what claim the natives have to them, amount, at least, to 169,600,000 acres, out of which must be reserved for future sale 14,133,333 acres, agreeably to the ordinance of the late Congress; then 155,466,667 acres remain for sale. Now, suppose this sold at half a dollar per acre (which is $\frac{1}{8}$ of a dollar below what any has been sold for as yet), and it amounts to 77,733,333$\frac{50}{100}$ dollars; but it may be said this is the price in Public Securities, and that the lands will not fetch more than a quarter that sum in hard money. Be it so; and then the net proceeds will amount to 19,433,333$\frac{10}{100}$ dollars. This, Sir, is no trifling sum, but is by no means the greatest advantage to be derived from those lands. Three lots of one mile square are (by the ordinance of the late Congress) reserved in each Township for the future disposition of government, and the local situation of these lots are such as to command a high price, and at the end of half a century (in which time they are to cost the government nothing), it is a very moderate calculation to rate them at four dollars the acre in Specie, and then their amount will be 56,533,332 dollars, a sum sufficient to build and equip a fleet superior to that of any nation in Europe.

We have before hinted that the produce of the Western Country will afford a great source of remittance for European and West India goods, and in a very few years that country will be able to supply the Atlantic States with such abundance of the raw material for making duck and cordage as will prevent all necessity of sending abroad for those articles. The particular advantage to be derived from the peltry trade I am not able to ascertain; however, this we know, that it is considered as a very lucrative business, that it affords materials for manufactories much to the advantage of the English subject, and the advantage this trade must be to us would undoubtedly exceed what it is or can be to them. In the year 1773 I heard Mr. Chester, then Governor of West Florida, say that from the duty paid in London on the American peltry it appeared the Indians paid a tax to the King of two shillings sterling on each poll, including men, women, and children; and why a revenue to the United States might not be derived from this quarter I know not. Again, while those countries remain a part of the United States they will pay the same duty on all imported goods which they consume as the other subjects of the Union, which in case of a separation would be totally lost.

The same observation applies equally to all goods furnished for the Indian trade. At present this revenue may not exceed 20,000 dollars, but in the course of half a century, if we only suppose the number of inhabitants to be one million, and the goods they shall consume to be at the rate only of three dollars and one-third per person (which is a very moderate allowance for an annual consumption), this only at five per cent will amount to 166,500 dollars per annum. I am sensible there will be some expense attending this business. For the Indian treaties and presents we will allow 20,000 dollars a year, for fifty years, which will amount to no more than one million dollars, and we will allow three regiments of infantry, and an artillery corps equal to a regiment of infantry in expense, and to this we will add a corps of horse of like expense, then we shall have the annual expense of five regiments, and we will allow the pay, victualing and clothing of each regiment to annually cost one hundred thousand dollars, then the amount of expense of the whole will be half a million dollars. This, Sir, is making a very extravagant charge against that country for its protection; yet, when we take into consideration the value of the lands when sold, the products of the country for remittance and manufactures, the peltry trade, etc., with the duty on imported goods sent into that country for the Indian trade and the consumption of its inhabitants, the balance in favor of retaining that territory as a part of the United States, appears evidently to be very great. But there is another point of light in which we ought to consider this matter, for if we would know the real advantage that country must be to this, remaining united, we ought to consider what probable mischief will ensue by a division. Among these may be reckoned the loss of more than seventy-five million dollars in the sale of lands, an annual revenue of more than one hundred and sixty thousand dollars on European and West India goods, with all the advantages that can possibly arise from the peltry trade. And, what is a matter of serious consideration, it is more than probable (in case of a separation from the United States) that country would be divided between Great Britain and Spain, for I can see no reason to suppose they will maintain a separate existence. Then

I suppose the western boundary of the United States must be the Alleghany Mountains. A miserable frontier this (and yet the best to be found if we give up the Western Country) that will require more expense to guard than the protection of all the Western Territory. The natural boundaries of the great lakes and the Mississippi River added to the inhabitants of the western quarter will give such strength and security to the old States, if properly attended to, as they must most sensibly feel the want of in case of a separation.

But I have no doubt but you, sir, and all the members of Congress, will give the subject a full examination, and determine on such measures as will most promote the general good of the nation, and in that case I think one might reasonably hope soon to see the forces of the United States in the western country so increased in numbers that, if the British posts are not given up, yet such establishments may be made in the Indian country as to bring the natives, who at present remain hostile, to submission, and protect the natives who are well disposed toward us, not only from their savage brethren who are so much under British influence, but also from the people on the Frontiers of Pennsylvania and Virginia, too many of whom regard not the authority of their own states, nor yet of Congress, more than the savages themselves. In this place, sir, I will take the liberty to inform you that in the year 1783 a petition was presented to the then Congress, praying for a grant of land in the western quarter, that the utility and policy of establishing Posts and forming Settlements that should extend from the Ohio to Lake Erie was clearly pointed out in a letter from the Commander-in-Chief and other papers accompanying said petition, and which I presume are now among the files of the late Congress, which I wish you to consult at your leisure. I beg leave at this time to add that I conceive, the more this subject is examined, the greater will appear the consequence that it should be effected as soon as practicable, for, from Lake Erie, by a very easy navigation and short portages, an army may descend by the Alleghany, Muskingum, Scioto, Big Miami, or the Wabash rivers, into any part of the Ohio country, and so, from Lake Erie as from a common center, fall on any part of the Ohio country extending more than one thousand miles in length on that river, and thus the whole Western Territory is liable to be lost by surprise. On the other hand, were there posts established on or near Lake Erie, even though we were not in possession of Detroit or Niagara, the natives disposed to peace would be protected, their numbers and attachment increased, the Indian trade greatly augmented, and that country soon filled with inhabitants in such manner that every reasonable fear of losing it in case of a war with Great Britain would be forever banished. Was this protection given, we might reasonably hope to see so numerous a body of well-informed and well-disposed citizens placing themselves in that quarter as would be able to counteract all the measures which any might attempt toward a separation from the old States. And if this protection is given, might we not also hope, from the lands already granted for a University and others appropriated for the support of schools in general, with some further provisions of little expense, I say, might we not hope *soon* to see such means of education set on foot as will have a most favorable effect on the manners of the people in that country, and remove the danger that, in a state of ignorance, with the art of designing men, they will always be under to mistake their true interest. If, sir, the western country is to be retained as a part of the United States, I conceive, the immediate protection and peopling of that tract between the Ohio and Lake Erie has a direct tendency and is the first link in the chain of arrangements toward compassing the great object; and if neglected, may prove an infinite mischief to the United States, for it was in full confidence that such protection would be afforded that the Ohio, Scioto, and other companies have contracted for lands to a very great amount. Now, sir, unless this protection is given, these contracts must all fail (to the loss of many millions of dollars to the United States), for, of what value are lands without inhabitants, and who will wish to inhabit a country where no reasonable protection is afforded?

Another circumstance which renders the present moment important, in point of giving that district protection, is this: The people settling at Muskingum and Miami, not having those prejudices against the natives which commonly arise from long wars with them, are led into such a line of conduct toward them, under the wise management of Governor St. Clair and other principal characters, as gives the fairest prospect of peace and tranquillity to the frontiers in general, if such military force is established as shall make the government of the United States in the western territory a terror to evil-doers and a protection to such as shall do well. I have already exceeded the common bounds of a letter, but there is one circumstance I can not forbear mentioning, which is the opposition that many New England people, and particularly in Massachusetts, express against the settlement of the western country, especially by their own inhabitants removing thither. This opposition, I presume, arises chiefly from two sources, viz., the drawing off her inhabitants and preventing the settlement of their eastern lands. As to the first, I conceive, it will make no material odds, for, if they do not remove to Ohio, they will emigrate to New York or Vermont; while there is any vacant lands to be come at, the population in the cultivated part of the country will remain nearly the same. I believe, in old Massachusetts, the number of polls has varied very little this many years, and the reason is obvious, for, within that tract, there is no room for new settlements of any consequence. And, as to the eastern country, it is a very fine place for lumber, and in that respect is of great service to Massachusetts; but any considerable number of people more in that district than to carry on this business will be a disadvantage in destroying the timber which ought to be preserved. That country, in general, is not fit for cultivation, and when this idea is connected with the climate, a man ought to consider himself curst, even in this world, who is doomed to inhabit there as the cultivator of the lands only. I can not suppose, however, that the Ohio country will much affect the settlement of the eastern lands, because those people who have not a double curse entailed to them will go to New York or Vermont rather than to the eastward.

Massachusetts, Sir, is in no danger of being depopulated for the Ohio country; even heaven itself will not invite them in such multitudes as to lessen her present numbers. Nor, on the other hand, will any policy prevent the emigration of her inhabitants in such swarms as that her numbers shall not greatly increase while there are vacant lands in any quarter to be had. And to what country can the inhabitants of Massachusetts emigrate so much to her advantage as the Ohio? Is it not to the interest of New England that the western country should, in their manners, morals, religion, and policy, take the eastern states for their model? Is the Genius of education, etc., of any people so favorable to republican government as theirs; and should they not then, by throwing in of their citizens, endeavor to take the lead, and give a tone to the new states forming in the western quarter? Besides, the products of the Ohio country will interfere much less, or rather, they will be of more utility to Massachusetts than to any other of the Atlantic States; tobacco, flour, hemp, flax, rice, and indigo, being the chief articles for exportation, none of which are raised in Massachusetts in any considerable quantity; but, when the navigation of the Mississippi shall become free, will all find their way to the sea-ports of that State, and much to the advantage of her citizens who shall be concerned in the trade. I have only to add that, however inaccurate this address may appear, yet none will deny that the subject is important; and I pray God it may have a full and candid inquiry by all concerned in the councils of the Nation.

I have the honor to be, Sir, with much esteem,

Your humble servant,
RUFUS PUTNAM.

[*Hon. Fisher Ames to General R. Putnam.*]

PHILADELPHIA, *Feb.* 22, 1791.

Dear Sir:—It was impossible to read your letter, giving an account of the attack of the savages on the settlement at Big Bottom, without feeling a strong sympathy with you under the peculiar distress of your situation. However your fears may have interpreted the sense of the country toward you, I am happy to perceive that they are not indisposed to giving you effectual protection, though it will cost money. That circumstance, too often, throws cold water on the natural emotions of the public toward their distressed brethren. I am happy to learn, by Governor St. Clair, that the last intelligence from

Marietta, etc., left all quiet there. Inured as you have been to war and danger, I think your late alarms must have exposed your fortitude to its severest trials. I wish they may not be repeated.

You know that my opinion of the proper policy of Congress is, to manifest a fixed resolution to protect remote parts of the Union, to nurse the weak, and to console the suffering remote settlements, with a degree of tender solicitude proportioned to their defenseless condition.

Congress has little occasion to make itself known to them except by acts of protection. The most successful way to banish the ruinous idea of the future independency of the Western country is, by doing good to the settlers, to gain their hearts. Our sun will set when the Union shall be divided. But it is not necessary to notice the idea any further. The measures of the present session of Congress, I think, will satisfy you that, because you are remote, you are not forgotten, and will not be abandoned to the savages. I inclose a letter to my old schoolfellow and townsman, Mr. Battelle. Will you please convey it to him.

Please to accept my sincere wishes for your health and prosperity.

I am, dear sir, with respect,
Your very humble serv't,

GENERAL PUTNAM. FISHER AMES.

APPENDIX B.

To Benjamin Harrison, Governor of Virginia.

Mount Vernon, *Oct.* 10, 1784.

Dear Sir:—Upon my return from the western country, a few days ago, I had the pleasure to receive your favor of the 17th ultimo. It has always been my intention to pay my respects to you, before the chance of another early and hard winter should make a warm fireside too comfortable to be relinquished. And I shall feel an additional pleasure in offering this tribute of friendship and respect to you, by having the company of the Marquis de Lafayette, when he shall have revisited this place from his eastern tour, now every day to be expected.

I shall take the liberty now, my dear Sir, to suggest a matter which would (if I am not too short-sighted a politician) mark your administration as an important era in the annals of this country, if it should be recommended by you and adopted by the Assembly. It has long been my decided opinion that the shortest, easiest, and least expensive communication with the invaluable and extensive country back of us, would be by one or both of the rivers of this state, which have their sources in the Apalachian Mountains. Nor am I singular in this opinion. Evans, in his Map and Analysis of the Middle Colonies, which, considering the early period at which they were given to the public, are done with amazing exactness, and Hutchins, since, in his Topographical Description of the western country, a good part of which is from actual surveys, are decidedly of the same sentiments; as, indeed, are all others who have had opportunities, and have been at the pains, to investigate and consider the subject. But that this may not stand as mere matter of opinion and assertion, unsupported by facts (such at least as the best maps now extant, compared with the oral testimony, which my opportunities in the course of the war have enabled me to obtain), I shall give you the different routes and distances from Detroit, by which all the trade of the north-western parts of the united territory must pass; unless the Spaniards, contrary to their present policy, should engage part of it; or the British should attempt to force nature, by carrying the trade of the Upper Lakes by the River Utawas into Canada, which I scarcely think they will or could effect. Taking Detroit, then (which is putting ourselves in as unfavorable a point of view as we can well be placed in, because it is upon the line of the British territory), as a point by which, as I have already observed, all that part of the trade must come, it appears, from the statement inclosed, that the tide waters of this state are nearer, by one hundred and sixty-eight miles, than those of the River St. Lawrence; or, than those of the Hudson at Albany, by one hundred and seventy-six miles. Maryland stands upon similar ground with Virginia. Pennsylvania, although the Susquehanna is an unfriendly water, much impeded, it is said, with rocks and rapids, and nowhere communicating with those which lead to her capital, has it in contemplation to open a communication between Toby's Creek, which empties into the Alleghany River ninety-five miles above Fort Pitt, and the west branch of the Susquehanna, and to cut a canal between the waters of the latter and the Schuylkill; the expense of which is easier to be conceived than estimated or described by me. A people, however, who are possessed of the spirit of commerce, who see and will pursue their advantages, may achieve almost any thing. In the mean time, under the uncertainty of these undertakings, they are smoothing the roads and paving the ways for the trade of that western world. That New York will do the same as soon as the British garrisons are removed, which are at present insurmountable obstacles in their way, no person, who knows the temper, genius, and policy of those people as well as I do, can harbor the smallest doubt. Thus much with respect to rival states. Let me now take a short view of our own; and, being aware of the objections which are in the way, I will, in order to contrast them, enumerate them with the advantages.

The first and principal one is, the *unfortunate jealousy* which ever has, and it is to be feared ever will, prevail, lest one part of the State should obtain an advantage over the other parts, as if the benefits of trade were not diffusive and beneficial to all. Then follows a train of difficulties, namely, that our people are already heavily taxed; that we have no money; that the advantages of this trade are remote; that the most direct route for it is through other States, over which we have no control; that the routes over which we have control are as distant as either of those which lead to Philadelphia, Albany, or Montreal; that a sufficient spirit of commerce does not pervade the citizens of this commonwealth; and that we are, in fact, doing for others what they ought to do for themselves. Without going into the investigation of a question which has employed the pens of able politicians, namely, whether trade with foreigners is an advantage or disadvantage to a country, this State, as a part of the confederated States, all of which have the spirit of it very strongly working in them, must adopt it, or submit to the evils arising therefrom without receiving its benefits. Common policy, therefore, points clearly and strongly to the propriety of our enjoying all the advantages which nature and our local situation afford us, and evinces clearly that, unless this spirit could be totally eradicated in other States as well as in this, and every man be made to become either a cultivator of the land or a manufacturer of such articles as are prompted by necessity, such stimulus should be employed as will *force* this spirit, by showing to our countrymen the superior advantages we possess beyond others, and the importance of being upon an equal footing with our neighbors.

If this is fair reasoning, it ought to follow as a consequence that we should do our part toward opening the communication for the fur and peltry trade of the Lakes, and for the produce of the country which lies within, and which will, so soon as matters are settled with the Indians, and the terms on which Congress mean to dispose of the land found to be favorable are announced, be settled faster than any other ever was, or any one would imagine. This, then, when considered in an interested point of view, is alone sufficient to excite our endeavors. But, in my opinion, there is a political consideration for so doing, which is of still greater importance. I need not remark to you, Sir, that the flanks and rear of the United States are possessed by other powers, and formidable ones, too; nor how necessary it is to apply the cement of interest to bind all parts of the Union together by indissoluble bonds, especially that part of it which lies immediately west of us with the middle States. For what ties, let me ask, should we have upon those people? How entirely unconnected with them shall we be, and what troubles may we not apprehend, if the Spaniards on their right and Great Britain on their left, instead of throwing stumbling-blocks in their way, as they now do, should hold out lures for their trade and alliance? What, when they get strength, which will be sooner than people conceive (from the emigration of foreigners, who will have no particular predilection toward us, as well as from the removal of our own citizens), will be the consequence of their having formed close connections with both or either of those powers, in a commercial way? It needs not, in my opinion, the gift of prophecy to foretell.

The western States (I speak now from my own observation) stand, as it were, on a pivot. The touch of a feather would turn them any way. They have looked down the Mississippi until the Spaniards, very impoliticly, I think, for themselves, threw difficulties in their way; and they looked that way for no other reason than because they could glide gently down the stream, without considering, perhaps, the difficulties of the voyage back again, and the time necessary to perform it in; and because they have no other means of coming to us but by long land transportations and unimproved roads. These causes have hitherto checked the industry of the present settlers; for, except the demand for provisions, occasioned by the increase of population, and a little flour, which the necessities of the Spaniards compel them to buy, they have no incitements to labor. But smooth the road, and make easy the way for them, and then see what an influx of articles will be poured upon us, how amazingly our exports will be increased by them, and how amply we shall be compensated for any trouble and expense we may encounter to effect it.

A combination of circumstances makes the present conjuncture more favorable for Virginia than for any other State in the Union to fix these matters. The jealous and untoward disposition of the Spaniards on one hand and the private views of some individuals, coinciding with the general policy of the Court of Great Britain on the other, to retain as long as possible the posts of Detroit, Niagara, and Oswego (which, though done under the letter of the treaty, is certainly an infraction of the spirit of it, and ruinous to the Union), may be improved to the greatest advantage by this State, if she would open the avenues to the trade of that country, and embrace the present moment to establish it. It only wants a beginning. The western inhabitants would do their part toward its execution. Weak as they are, they would meet us at least half way, rather than be driven into the arms of foreigners, or be made dependent upon them, which would eventually either bring on a separation of them from us, or a war between the United States and one or the other of those powers, most probably with the Spaniards.

The preliminary steps to the attainment of this great object would be attended with very little expense, and might, at the same time that it served to attract the attention of the western country, and convince the wavering inhabitants of our disposition to connect ourselves with them, and facilitate their commerce with us, be a means of removing those jealousies, which otherwise might take place among ourselves. These, in my opinion, are, to appoint commissioners, who, from their situation, integrity, and abilities, can be under no suspicion of prejudice or predilection to one part more than another. Let these commissioners make an actual survey of James River, and the Potomac from the tide-water to their respective sources; note with great accuracy the kind of navigation and obstructions, the difficulty and expense attending the removal of these obstructions, the distances from place to place through their whole extent, and the nearest and best portage between these waters and the streams capable of improvement, which run into the Ohio; traverse these in like manner to their junction with the Ohio, and with equal accuracy. The navigation of the Ohio being well known, they will have less to do in the examination of it; but, nevertheless, let the courses and distances be taken to the mouth of the Muskingum, and up that river (notwithstanding it is in ceded lands) to the carrying place to the Cayahoga; down the Cayahoga to Lake Erie, and thence to Detroit. Let them do the same with Big Beaver Creek, although part of it is in the State of Pennsylvania, and also with the Scioto.

In a word, let the waters east and west of the Ohio, which invite our notice by their proximity and by the ease with which land transportation may be had between them and the Lakes on one side, and the Rivers Potomac and James on the other, be explored, accurately delineated, and a correct and connected map of the whole be presented to the public.

These things being done, I shall be mistaken if prejudice does not yield to facts, jealousy to candor, and, finally, if reason and nature, thus aided, do not dictate what is right and proper to be done.

In the meanwhile, if it should be thought that the lapse of time, which is necessary to effect this work, may be attended with injurious consequences, could not there be a sum of money granted toward opening the best, or, if it should be deemed more eligible, two of the nearest communications (one to the northward and another to the southward) with the settlements to the westward; and an act be passed, if there should not appear a manifest disposition in the Assembly to make it a public undertaking, to incorporate and encourage private adventurers, if any should associate and solicit the same, for the purpose of extending the navigation of the Potomac or James River; and, in the former case, to request the concurrence of Maryland in the measure? It will appear from my statement of the different routes (and as far as my means of information have extended I have done it with the utmost candor) that all produce of the settlements about Fort Pitt can be brought to Alexandria by the Youghiogheny in three hundred and four miles, whereof only thirty-one are land transportation, and by the Monongahela and Cheat Rivers in three hundred and sixty miles, twenty of which only are land carriage. Whereas the common road from Fort Pitt to Philadelphia is three hundred and twenty miles, all land transportation; or four hundred and seventy-six miles, if the Ohio, Toby's Creek, Susquehanna, and Schuylkill are made use of for this purpose. How much of this is by land I know not, but from the nature of the country it must be very considerable. How much the interest and feelings of people thus circumstanced would be engaged to promote it requires no illustration. For my own part, I think it highly probable that, upon the strictest scrutiny, if the Falls of the Great Kenhawa can be made navigable, or a short portage be had there, it will be found of equal importance and convenience to improve the navigation of both the James and Potomac. The latter, I am fully persuaded, affords the nearest communication with the Lakes; but James River may be more convenient for all the settlers below the mouth of the Great Kenhawa, and for some distance perhaps above and west of it; for I have no expectation that any part of the trade above the Falls of the Ohio will go down that river and the Mississippi, much less that the returns will ever come up them, unless our want of foresight and good management is the occasion of it. Or, upon trial, if it should be found that these rivers, from the before-mentioned Falls, will admit the descent of sea-vessels, in that case, and the navigation of the former becoming free, it is probable that both vessels and cargoes will be carried to foreign markets and sold; but the returns for them will never in the natural course of things ascend the long and rapid current of that river, which, with the Ohio to the Falls, in their meanderings, is little, if any thing, short of two thousand miles. Upon the whole, the object, in my estimation, is of vast commercial and political importance. In this light I think posterity will consider it, and regret if our conduct should give them cause, that the present favorable moment to secure so great a blessing for them was neglected.

One thing more remains which I had like to have forgotten, and that is, the supposed difficulty of obtaining a passage through the State of Pennsylvania. How an application to its legislature would be relished, in the first instance, I will not undertake to decide, but of one thing I am almost certain, such an application would place that body in a very delicate situation. There are in the State of Pennsylvania at least one hundred thousand souls west of the Laurel Hill, who are groaning under the inconveniences of a long land transportation. They are wishing, indeed, they are looking, for the improvement and extension of inland navigation; and if this can not be made easy for them to Philadelphia (at any rate it must be long), they will seek a mart elsewhere, the consequence of which would be, that the State, though contrary to the interests of its sea-ports, must submit to the loss of so much of its trade, or hazard not only the loss of the trade, but the loss of the settlement also; for an opposition on the part of government to the extension of water transportation, so consonant with the essential interests of a large body of people, or any extraordinary impositions upon the exports or imports to or from another State, would ultimately bring on a separation between its eastern and western settlements, toward which there is not wanting a disposition at this moment in that part of it beyond the mountains. I consider Rumsey's discovery for working boats against the stream, by mechanical powers principally, as not only a very fortunate invention for these States in general, but as one of those circumstances which have combined to render the present time favorable above all others for fixing, if we are disposed to avail ourselves of them, a large portion of the trade of the western country in the bosom of this State irrevocably.

Long as this letter is, I intended to have written a fuller and more digested one, upon this important subject, but have met with so many interruptions since my return home, as almost to have precluded my writing at all. What I now give is crude; but if you are in sentiment with me, I have said enough; if there is not an accordance of opinion I have said too much, and all I pray in the latter case is, that you will do me the justice to believe my motives are pure, however erroneous my judgment may be in this matter, and that I am, with the most perfect esteem and friendship,

Dear sir, yours, etc.,

GEO. WASHINGTON.

APPENDIX C.

An Explanation of the Map which Delineates that Part of the Federal Lands Comprehended between Pennsylvania West Line, the Rivers Ohio and Scioto, and Lake Erie; Confirmed to the United States by Sundry Tribes of Indians, in the Treaties of 1784 and 1786, and Now Ready for Settlement. Salem: Printed by Dabney and Cushing, MDCCLXXXVII.

New York, *October* 28, 1787.

Having attentively perused the following pamphlet, describing part of the western territory of the United States, *I do Certify*, that the facts therein related, respecting the fertility of the soil, productions, and general advantages of settlement, etc., are judicious, just, and true, and correspond with observations made by me during my residence of upward of ten years in that country. Thomas Hutchins,

Geographer of the United States.

AN EXPLANATION, ETC.

The great river Ohio is formed by the confluence of Monongahela and the Alleghany, in the State of Pennsylvania, about 290 miles west of the city of Philadelphia, and about 20 miles east of the western line of that State. In the common traveling road, the former distance is computed at 320 miles; and, by the windings and oblique direction of the Ohio, the latter is reckoned about 42. These two sources of the Ohio are large, navigable streams; the former, flowing from the south-east, leaves but 30 miles portage from the navigable waters of the Potomac, in Virginia; the latter opens a passage from the north-east, and rises not far from the head-waters of the Susquehanna. The State of Pennsylvania has already adopted the plan of opening a navigation from the Alleghany River to the city of Philadelphia, through the Susquehanna and the Delaware. In this route, there will be a portage of only 24 miles.

On the junction of these rivers, or at the head of the Ohio, stands Fort Pitt, which gives name to the town of Pittsburgh, a flourishing settlement in the vicinity of the fortress. From this place, the Ohio takes a south-western course of 1,188 miles, including its various windings, and discharges itself into the Mississippi, having passed a prodigious length of delightful and fertile country, and received the tribute of a large number of navigable streams. The Muskingum, the Hockhocking, the Scioto, the Miami, and the Wabash from the North-west, the Kenhawa, the Kentucky, the Buffaloe, the Shawanee, and the Cherokee from the south-east, all navigable from 100 to 900 miles, discharge themselves into the Ohio; and yet the Ohio itself forms but an inconsiderable part of that vast variety of congregated streams which visit the ocean through the channel of the Mississippi.

The Ohio, from Pennsylvania to the Mississippi, divides the State of Virginia from the Federal lands, or the lands which do not fall within the limits of any particular State. These extend westward to the Mississippi and northward to the boundary of the United States, excepting only the Connecticut reserve, which is a narrow strip of land, bordering on the south of Lake Erie, and stretching 120 miles west of the western limit of Pennsylvania. But a small proportion of these lands is as yet purchased of the natives, and to be disposed of by Congress. Beginning on the meridian line, which forms the western boundary of Pennsylvania, they have surveyed and laid off seven ranges of townships. As a north and south line strikes the Ohio in a very oblique direction, the termination of the seventh range falls upon that river 9 miles above the Muskingum, which is the first large river that falls into the Ohio. It forms this junction at 172 miles below Fort Pitt, including the windings of the Ohio, though in a direct line it is but 90 miles. The lands in which the Indian title is extinguished, and which are now purchasing under the United States, are bounded as before described on the east, by the Great Miami on the west, by the Ohio on the south, and extend near to the head-waters of the Muskingum and Scioto on the north. The Muskingum is a gentle river, confined by banks so high as to prevent its overflowing. It is 250 yards wide at its confluence with the Ohio, and navigable

UNIVERSITY OF
LIBRARY
ILLINOIS

by large batteaux and barges to the Three Legs; and, by small ones, to the lake at its head. From thence, by a portage of about one mile, a communication is opened to Lake Erie, through the Cayahoga, which is a stream of great utility, navigable the whole length, without any obstruction from falls. From Lake Erie, the avenue is well known to the Hudson, in the State of New York. The most considerable portage in this route is at the fall of Niagara, which interrupts the communication between the Lakes Erie and Ontario. From the latter, you pass through the River Oswego, the Oneyda Lake, Wood's Creek, and find a short portage into the Mohawk, and another, occasioned by a fall near the confluence of the Mohawk and the Hudson, at Albany.

The Hockhocking resembles the Muskingum, though somewhat inferior in size. It is navigable for large boats about 70 miles, and for small ones much farther. On the banks of this very useful stream are found inexhaustible quarries of freestone, large beds of iron ore, and some rich mines of lead. Coal mines and salt springs are frequent in the neighborhood of this stream, as they are in every part of the western territory. The salt that may be obtained from these springs will afford an inexhaustible store of that necessary article. Beds of white and blue clay, of an excellent quality, are likewise found here, suitable for the manufacture of glass, crockery, and other earthenwares. Red bole and many other useful fossils have been observed on the branches of this river.

The Scioto is a larger river than either of the preceding, and opens a more extensive navigation. It is passable for large barges for 200 miles, with a portage of only 4 miles to the Sandusky, a good, navigable stream, that falls into the Lake Erie. Through the Sandusky and Scioto lies the most common pass from Canada to the Ohio and Mississippi, one of the most extensive and useful communications that are to be found in any country.

Prodigious extensions of territory are here connected; and, from the rapidity with which the western parts of Canada, Lake Erie, and the Kentucky countries are settling, we may anticipate an immense intercourse between them. The lands on the borders of these middle streams, from this circumstance alone, aside from their natural fertility, must be rendered vastly valuable. There is no doubt but flour, corn, flax, hemp, etc., raised for exportation in that great country between the Lakes Huron and Ontario, will find an easier outlet through Lake Erie and these rivers than in any other direction. The Ohio merchant can give a higher price than those of Quebec for these commodities, as they may be transported from the former to Florida and the West India Islands with less expense, risk, and insurance, than the latter; while the expense from the place of growth to the Ohio will not be one-fourth of what it would be to Quebec, and much less than even to the Oneyda Lake. The stream of Scioto is gentle, nowhere broken by falls. At some places, in the spring of the year, it overflows its banks, providing for large natural rice plantations. Salt springs, coal mines, white and blue clay and freestone, abound in the country adjoining this river. The undistinguishing terms of admiration, that are commonly used in speaking of the natural fertility of the country on the western waters of the United States, would render it difficult, without accurate attention in the surveys, to ascribe a preference to any particular part, or to give a just description of the territory under consideration, without the hazard of being suspected of exaggeration. But in this we have the united opinion of the Geographer, the Surveyors, and every traveler that has been intimately acquainted with the country, and marked every natural object with the most scrupulous exactness—that no part of the federal territory unites so many advantages, in point of health, fertility, variety of production, and foreign intercourse, as that tract which stretches from the Muskingum to the Scioto and the Great Miami Rivers.

Colonel Gordon, in his journal, speaking of a much larger range of country, in which this is included, and makes unquestionably the finest part, has the following observation: "The country on the Ohio is every-where pleasant, with large level spots of rich land, and remarkably healthy. One general remark of this nature will serve for the whole tract of the globe comprehended between the western skirts of the Alleghany mountains; thence running south-westerly to the distance of 500 miles to the Ohio falls; then crossing them northerly to the heads of the rivers that empty themselves into the Ohio; then east along the ridge that separates the lakes and Ohio's streams to French creek. This country may, from a proper knowledge, be affirmed to be the most healthy, the most pleasant, the most commodious and most fertile spot on earth, known to the European people."

The lands that feed the various streams above mentioned, which fall into the Ohio, are now more accurately known, and may be described with confidence and precision. They are interspersed with all the variety of soil which conduces to pleasantness of situation, and lays the foundation for the wealth of an agricultural and manufacturing people. Large level bottoms, or natural meadows, from 20 to 50 miles in circuit, are every-where found bordering the rivers and variegating the country in the interior parts. These afford as rich a soil as can be imagined, and may be reduced to proper cultivation with very little labor. It is said that in many of these bottoms a man may clear an acre a day, fit for planting with Indian corn; there being no under-wood, and the trees growing high and large, but not thick together, need nothing but girdling. The prevailing growth of timber and the more useful trees are maple or sugar-tree, sycamore, black and white mulberry, black and white walnut, butternut, chestnut, white, black, Spanish, and chestnut oaks, hickory, cherry, buckwood, honey locust, elm, horse chestnut, cucumber tree, lynn tree, gum tree, iron wood, ash, aspin, sassafras, crab-apple tree, pawpaw or custard apple, a variety of plum trees, wine-bark spice, and leather-wood bushes. General Parsons measured a black-walnut tree, near the Muskingum, whose circumference, at 5 feet from the ground, was 22 feet. A sycamore, near the same place, measured 44 feet in circumference, at some distance from the ground. White and black oak, and chestnut, with most of the above-mentioned timbers, grow large and plenty upon the high grounds. Both the high and low lands produce vast quantities of natural grapes of various kinds, of which the settlers universally may make a sufficiency for their own consumption of rich red wine. It is asserted in the old settlement of St. Vincent's, where they have had opportunity to try it, that age will render this wine preferable to most of the European wines. Cotton is the natural production of this country, and grows in great perfection.

The sugar maple is a most valuable tree for an inland country. Any number of inhabitants may be forever supplied with a sufficiency of sugar, by preserving a few trees for the use of each family. A tree will yield about ten pounds of sugar a year, and the labor is very trifling. The sap is extracted in the months of February and March, and granulated, by the simple operation of boiling, to a sugar equal in flavor and whiteness to the best Muscovado.

Springs of excellent water abound in every part of this territory, and small and large streams, for mills and other purposes, are actually interspersed, as if by art, that there be no deficiency in any of the conveniences of life.

Very little waste land is to be found in any part of the tract of country comprehended in the map which accompanies this. There are no swamps, and, though the hills are frequent, they are gentle and swelling, nowhere high nor incapable of tillage. They are of a deep, rich soil, covered with a heavy growth of timber, and well adapted to the production of wheat, rye, indigo, tobacco, etc.

The communications between this country and the sea will be principally in the four following directions:

1. The route through the Scioto and Muskingum to Lake Erie, and so to the river Hudson, which has been already described.

2. The passage up the Ohio and Monongahela to the portage above mentioned, which leads to the navigable waters of the Potomac. This portage is 30 miles, and will probably be rendered much less by the execution of the plans now on foot for opening the navigation of those waters.

3. The great Kenhawa, which falls into the Ohio from the Virginia shore between the Hockhocking and the Scioto, opens an extensive navigation from the south-east, and leaves but 18 miles portage from the navigable waters of James River, in Virginia. This communication, for the country between Muskingum and Scioto, will probably be more used than any other for the exportation of manufactures and other light, valuable articles, and especially for the importation of

foreign commodities, which may be brought from the Chesapeake to the Ohio much cheaper than they are now carried from Philadelphia to Carlisle and the other thick-settled back counties of Pennsylvania.

4. But the current down the Ohio and the Mississippi, for heavy articles that suit the Florida and West India markets, such as corn, flour, beef, lumber, etc., will be more frequently loaded than any streams on earth. The distance from the Scioto to the Mississippi is 800 miles; from thence to the sea it is 900. This whole course is easily run in 15 days, and the passage up those rivers is not so difficult as has usually been represented. It is found by late experiments that sails are used to great advantage against the current of the Ohio, and it is worthy of observation that, in all probability, steamboats will be found to do infinite service in all our extensive river navigation.

Such is the state of facts relative to the natural advantages of the territory described in the annexed map. As far as observations in passing the rivers and the transitory remarks of travelers will justify an opinion, the lands further down, and in other parts of the unappropriated country, are not equal, in point of soil and other local advantages, to the tract which is here described. This, however, can not be accurately determined, as the present situation of these countries will not admit of that minute inspection which has been bestowed on the one under consideration.

It is a happy circumstance that the Ohio Company are about to commence the settlement of this country in so regular and judicious a manner. It will serve as a wise model for the future settlement of all the federal lands; at the same time that, by beginning so near the western limit of Pennsylvania, it will be a continuation of the old settlements, leaving no vacant lands exposed to be seized by such lawless banditti as usually infest the frontiers of countries distant from the seat of government.

The design of Congress and of the settlers is that the settlements shall proceed regularly down the Ohio and northward to Lake Erie. And it is probable that not many years will elapse before the whole country above Miami will be brought to that degree of cultivation which will exhibit all its latent beauties, and justify those descriptions of travelers which have so often made it the garden of the world, the seat of wealth, and the center of a great empire.

To the philosopher and the politician, on viewing this delightful part of the federal territory, under the prospect of an immediate and systematic settlement, the following observations will naturally occur.

First. The toils of agriculture will here be rewarded with a greater variety of valuable productions than in any part of America. The advantages of almost every climate are here blended together; every considerable commodity, that is cultivated in any part of the United States, is here produced in the greatest plenty and perfection. The high dry lands are of a deep, rich soil, producing in abundance, wheat, rye, Indian corn, buckwheat, oats, barley, flax, hemp, tobacco, indigo, silk, wine, and cotton. The tobacco is of a quality superior to that of Virginia; and the crops of wheat are larger than in any other part of America. The common growth of Indian corn is from 60 to 80 bushels to the acre. The low lands are well suited to the production of nearly all the above articles, except wheat.

Where the large bottoms are interspersed with small streams, they are well adapted to the growth of rice, which may be produced in any quantities. The borders of the large streams do not generally admit of this crop, as very few of them overflow their banks. But the scarcity of natural rice swamps is amply compensated by the remarkable healthfulness of the whole country, it being entirely free from stagnant waters. It is found, in this country, that stagnant waters are by no means necessary to the growth of the rice; the common rich bottoms produce this crop in as great perfection as the best rice swamps of the Southern States. Hops are the natural production of this country, as are peaches, plums, pears, apples, melons, and almost every fruit of the temperate zone.

No country is better stocked with wild game of every kind. Innumerable herds of deer, elk, buffaloe, and bear, are sheltered in the groves, and fed in the extensive bottoms that every-where abound—an unquestionable proof of the great fertility of the soil. Turkeys, geese, ducks, swans, teal, pheasants, partridges, etc., are, from observation, believed to be in greater plenty here than the tame poultry are in any part of the old settlements of America.

The rivers are well stored with fish of various kinds, and many of them of an excellent quality. They are generally large, though of different sizes. The cat-fish, which is the largest, and of a delicious flavor, weighs from 30 to 80 pounds. Provisions will, for many years, find a ready market on any of these rivers; as settlers are constantly coming in from all parts of the world, and must be supplied by purchase, for one year at least, with many articles.

Second. From its situation and productions, no country is so well calculated for the establishment of manufactures of various kinds. Provisions will be forever plenty and cheap. The raw materials for fabricating most of the articles of clothing and dress, are and will be the luxuriant production of this country. Though silk, cotton, and flax are valuable in themselves, yet, by being wrought into the various articles of use and ornament, the expense of transportation is proportionably lessened. The United States, and perhaps other countries, will be supplied from these interior parts of America.

Ship-building will be a capital branch of business on the Ohio and its confluent streams. The Ohio, when at the lowest, admits of four fathom of water, from the mouth of the Muskingum to its confluence with the Mississippi, except at the rapids, which, at such times, interrupt the navigation for about one mile. The descent in that distance is only 15 feet; and the channel, which is 250 yards wide, has at no time less than 5 feet of water. In freshes, the water rises 30 feet; and boats are not only rowed against the stream, but ascend the rapids by means of their sails only. It is the opinion of the Geographer, and others who have viewed the spot, that, by cutting a canal a little more than half a mile on the south side of the river, which is low meadow ground, the rapids may be avoided, and the navigation made free at all seasons of the year. Hemp, timber, and iron will be plenty and good; and the high freshes, from February to April, and frequently in October and November, will bear a vessel of any burden over the rapids, in their present state, and out to sea.

The following observations, by an English engineer who had explored the western country, were addressed to the Earl of Hillsborough in the year 1770, when Secretary of State for the North American department—at a time when we were British colonies, and our country considered only as the handmaid to Great Britain, in furnishing raw materials for their manufactures.

"No part of North America will require less encouragement for the production of naval stores and raw materials for manufactories in Europe, and for supplying the West India islands with lumber, provisions, etc., than the country of the Ohio, and for the following reasons:

"1. The lands are excellent, the climate temperate; the native grapes, silk-worms, and mulberry trees, abound everywhere; hemp, hops, and rye grow spontaneously in the valleys and low lands; lead and iron ore are plenty in the hills; salt springs are innumerable; and no soil is better adapted to the culture of tobacco, flax, and cotton, than that of the Ohio.

"2. The country is well watered by several navigable rivers, communicating with each other, by which, and a short land carriage, the produce of the lands of the Ohio can, even now, be sent cheaper to the sea-port town of Alexandria, on the River Potowmac—where General Braddock's transports landed his troops—than any kind of merchandise is sent from Northampton to London.

"3. The river Ohio is, at all seasons of the year, navigable with large boats; and from the month of February to April, large ships may be built on the Ohio and sent to sea, laden with hemp, iron, flax, silk, tobacco, cotton, potash, etc.

"4. Flour, corn, beef, ship-plank, and other useful articles, can be sent down the stream of Ohio to West Florida, and from thence to the West India Islands, much cheaper, and in better order, than from New York or Philadelphia to those islands.

"5. Hemp, tobacco, iron, and such bulky articles, may be sent down the stream of Ohio to the sea, at least 50 per cent cheaper than these articles were ever carried by a land carriage of only 60 miles in Pennsylvania, where wagonage is cheaper than in any other part of North America.

"6. The expense of transporting European manufactures from the sea to the Ohio will not be so much as is now paid, and ever must be paid, to a great part of the counties of Pennsylvania, Virginia, and Maryland. Whenever the farmers or merchants of Ohio shall properly understand the business of transportation, they will build schooners, sloops, etc., on the Ohio, suitable for the West India or European markets; or, by having black walnut, cherry tree, oak, etc., properly sawed for foreign markets, and formed into rafts, in the manner that is now done in Pennsylvania, and thereon stow their hemp, iron, tobacco, etc., and proceed with them to New Orleans.

"It may not, perhaps, be amiss to observe, that large quantities of flour are made in the western counties of Pennsylvania, and sent, by an expensive land carriage, to the city of Philadelphia; and from thence shipped to South Carolina and East and West Florida—there being little or no wheat raised in these provinces. The River Ohio seems kindly designed, by nature, as the channel through which the two Floridas may be supplied with flour, not only for their own consumption, but also for carrying on an extensive commerce with Jamaica and the Spanish settlements in the Bay of Mexico. Millstones, in abundance, are to be obtained in the hills near the Ohio; and the country is every-where well watered with large and constant springs and streams for grist and other mills. The passage from Philadelphia to Pensacola is seldom made in less than a month; and 60 shillings sterling per ton freight (consisting of 16 barrels) is usually paid for flour, etc., thither. Boats, carrying 500 or 1,000 barrels of flour, may go in about the same time from Pittsburgh as from Philadelphia to Pensacola, and for half the above freight. The Ohio merchants could deliver flour, etc., there, in much better order than from Philadelphia, and without incurring the damage and delay of the sea, and charges of insurance, etc., as from thence to Pensacola. This is not mere speculation; for it is a fact, that about the year 1746 there was a scarcity of provisions at New Orleans, and the French settlements at the Illinois, small as they then were, sent thither, in one winter, upward of eight hundred thousand weight of flour."

If, instead of furnishing other nations with raw materials, companies of manufacturers from Europe could be introduced and established in this inviting situation, under the superintendence of men of property, it would occasion an immense addition of men and wealth to these new settlements, and serve as a beneficial example of economy to many parts of the United States.

Third. In the late ordinance of Congress for disposing of the western lands, as far down as the River Scioto, the provision that is made for schools and the endowment of an university, looks with a most favorable aspect upon the settlement, and furnishes the presentiment that, by a proper attention to the subject of education, under these advantages, the field of science may be greatly enlarged, and the acquisition of useful knowledge placed upon a more respectable footing here than in any other part of the world. Besides the opportunity of opening a new and unexplored region for the range of natural history, botany, and the medical science, there will be one advantage which no other part of the earth can boast, and which probably will never again occur—that, in order to begin *right*, there will be no *wrong* habits to combat, and no inveterate systems to overturn—there is no rubbish to remove, before you can lay the foundation. The first settlement will embosom many men of the most liberal minds—well versed in the world, in business, and every useful science. Could the necessary apparatus be procured, and funds immediately established, for founding a university on a liberal plan, that professors might be active in their various researches and employments—even now, in the infancy of the settlement, a proper use might be made of an advantage which will never be repeated.

Many political benefits would immediately result to the United States from such an early institution in that part of the country. The people in the Kentucky and Illinois countries are rapidly increasing. Their distance from the old States will prevent their sending their children thither for instruction; from the want of which they are in danger of losing all their habits of government, and allegiance to the United States. But, on seeing examples of government, science, and regular industry follow them into the neighborhood of their own country, they would favor their children with these advantages, and revive the ideas of order, citizenship, and the useful sciences. This attention, from these neighboring people, would increase the wealth and population of the new proposed settlement.

Fourth. In the ordinance of Congress, for the government of the territory north-west of the Ohio, it is provided that, after the said territory acquires a certain degree of population, it shall be divided into States. The Eastern State that is thus provided to be made is bounded on the Great Miami on the west and by the Pennsylvania line on the east. The center of this State will fall between the Scioto and the Hockhocking. At the mouth of one of these rivers will probably be the seat of government for the State. And, if we may indulge the sublime contemplation of beholding the whole territory of the United States settled by an enlightened people, and continued under one extended government, on the river Ohio, and not far from this spot, will be the seat of empire for the whole dominion. This is central to the whole; it will best accommodate every part; it is the most pleasant, and probably the most healthful. Altho' it is an object of importance that Congress should soon fix on a seat of government, yet, in the present state of the country, it is presumed, it will not be thought best that such a seat be considered as immovably fixed. To take the range of the Alleghany Mountains from north to south, it is probable twenty years will not elapse before there will be more people on the western than on the eastern waters of the United States. The settlers ought even now to have it in view, that government will forever accommodate them as much as their brethren on the east. This may be necessary to prevent their forming schemes of independence, seeking other connections, and providing for their separate convenience. As it is the most exalted and benevolent object of legislation that ever was aimed at, to unite such an amazingly extensive people, and make them happy, under one jurisdiction, every act of Congress under the new Constitution, by looking forward to this object, will, we trust, inculcate and familiarize the idea. They will, no doubt, at an early period, make a reservation or purchase of a suitable tract of land for a federal town that will be central to the whole, and give some public intimation of such intention to transfer the seat of government, on the occurrence of certain events, such as comparative population, etc. This would render such transfer easily practicable, by preventing the occasion of uneasiness in the old states, while it would not appear to be the result of danger, or the prospect of revolt, in the new.

APPENDIX D.

THE ORDINANCE OF 1787, AND ITS HISTORY, BY PETER FORCE—ORDINANCE FOR SALE OF LANDS IN THE NORTH-WESTERN TERRITORY—ORDINANCE FOR ASCERTAINING THE MODE OF DISPOSING OF LANDS IN THE WESTERN TERRITORY.

[Copied from Appendix I of "St. Clair Papers."]

On the first of March, 1784, a committee, consisting of Mr. Jefferson, of Virginia, Mr. Chase, of Maryland, and Mr. Howell, of Rhode Island, submitted to Congress the following plan for the temporary government of the Western Territory:

The committee appointed to prepare a plan for the temporary government of the Western Territory have agreed to the following resolutions:

Resolved, That the territory ceded or to be ceded by individual States to the United States, whensoever the same shall have been purchased of the Indian inhabitants, and offered for sale by the United States, shall be formed into additional States, bounded in the following manner, as nearly as such cessions will admit: That is to say, northwardly and southwardly by parallels of latitude, so that each State shall comprehend, from south to north, two degrees of latitude, beginning to count from the completion of thirty-one degrees north of the equator; but any territory northwardly of the forty-seventh degree shall make part of the State next below. And eastwardly and westwardly they shall be bounded, those on the Mississippi by that river on the one side, and the meridian of the lowest point of the rapids of the Ohio on the other; and those adjoining on the east, by the same meridian on the western side, and on the eastern by the meridian of the western cape of the mouth of the Great Kanawha. And the territory eastward of this last meridian, between the Ohio, Lake Erie, and Pennsylvania, shall be one State.

That the settlers within the territory so to be purchased and offered for sale shall, either on their own petition or on the order of Congress, receive authority from them, with appointments of time and place, for their free males of full age to meet together for the purpose of establishing a temporary government to adopt the constitution and laws of any one of these States, so that such laws, nevertheless, shall be subject to alteration by their ordinary legislature, and to erect, subject to a like alteration, counties or townships for the election of members of their legislature.

That such temporary government shall only continue in force in any State until it shall have acquired twenty thousand free inhabitants, when, giving due proof thereof to Congress, they shall receive from them authority, with appointments of time and place, to call a convention of representatives to establish a permanent constitution and government for themselves.

Provided, That both the temporary and permanent governments be established on these principles as their basis:

1. That they shall forever remain a part of the United States of America.

2. That, in their persons, property, and territory, they shall be subject to the Government of the United States in Congress assembled, and to the Articles of Confederation in all those cases in which the original States shall be so subject.

3. That they shall be subject to pay a part of the Federal debts, contracted or to be contracted, to be apportioned on them by Congress, according to the same common rule and measure by which apportionments thereof shall be made on the other States.

4. That their respective governments shall be in republican forms, and shall admit no person to be a citizen who holds any hereditary title.

5. That, after the year 1800 of the Christian era, there shall be neither slavery nor involuntary servitude in any of the said States, otherwise than in the punishment of crimes whereof the party shall have been duly convicted to have been personally guilty.

That whensoever any of the said States shall have, of free inhabitants, as many as shall then be in any one of the least numerous of the thirteen original States, such State shall be admitted by its delegates into the Congress of the United States, on an equal footing with the said original States, after which the assent of two-thirds of the United States, in Congress assembled, shall be requisite in all those cases wherein, by the confederation, the assent of nine States is now required, provided the consent of nine States to such admission may be obtained according to the eleventh of the Articles of Confederation. Until such admission by their delegates into Congress, any of the said States, after the establishment of their temporary government, shall have authority to keep a sitting member in Congress, with a right of debating but not of voting.

That the territory northward of the forty-fifth degree, that is to say, of the completion of forty-five degrees from the equator, and extending to the Lake of the Woods, shall be called *Sylvania.* That, of the territory under the forty-fifth and forty-fourth degrees, that which lies westward of Michigan shall be called *Michigania;* and that which is eastward thereof, within the peninsula formed by the lakes and waters of Michigan, Huron, St. Clair, and Erie, shall be called *Cheronesus*, and shall include any part of the peninsula which may extend above the forty-fifth degree. Of the territory under the forty-third and forty-second degrees, that to the westward, through which the Assenisipi or Rock River runs, shall be called *Assenisipia;* and that to the eastward, in which are the fountains of the Muskingum, the two Miamis of Ohio, the Wabash, the Illinois, the Miami of the Lake, and the Sandusky Rivers, shall be called *Metropotamia.* Of the territory which lies under the forty-first and fortieth degrees, the western, through which the river Illinois runs, shall be called *Illinoia;* that next adjoining, to the eastward, *Saratoga;* and that between this last and Pennsylvania, and extending from the Ohio to Lake Erie, shall be called *Washington.* Of the territory which lies under the thirty-ninth and thirty-eighth degrees, to which shall be added so much of the point of land within the fork of the Ohio and Mississippi as lies under the thirty-seventh degree, that to the westward, within and adjacent to which are the confluences of the rivers Wabash, Shawnee, Tanisee, Ohio, Illinois, Mississippi, and Missouri, shall be called *Polypotamia;* and that to the eastward, farther up the Ohio, otherwise called the Pelisipi, shall be called *Pelisipia.*

That all the preceding articles shall be formed into a charter of compact; shall be duly executed by the President of the United States, in Congress assembled, under his hand and the seal of the United States; shall be promulgated, and shall stand as fundamental conditions between the thirteen original States and these newly described, unalterable but by the joint consent of the United States, in Congress assembled, and of the particular State within which such alteration is proposed to be made.

This report was recommitted to the same committee on the 17th of March, and a new one was submitted on the 22d of the same month. The second report agreed in substance with the first. The principal difference was the omission of the paragraph giving names to the States to be formed out of the Western Territory. It was taken up for consideration by Congress on the 19th of April, on which day, on the motion of Mr. Spaight, of North Carolina, the following clause was struck out:

"That, after the year 1800 of the Christian era, there shall be neither slavery nor involuntary servitude in any of the said States, otherwise than in the punishment of crimes whereof the party shall have been duly convicted to have been personally guilty."

The report was further considered and amended on the 20th and 21st. On the 23d, it was agreed to (ten States voting *aye*, and one *no*), without the clause prohibiting slavery and involuntary servitude after the year 1800. On the question to agree to the report, after the prohibitory clause was struck out, the yeas and nays were required by Mr. Beresford. The vote was:

- New Hampshire—
  - Mr. Foster, aye.
  - Mr. Blanchard, aye.
- Massachusetts—
  - Mr. Gerry, aye.
  - Mr. Partridge, aye.
- Rhode Island—
  - Mr. Ellery, aye.
  - Mr. Howell, aye.
- Connecticut—
  - Mr. Sherman, aye.
  - Mr. Wadsworth, aye.
- New York—
  - Mr. Dewitt, aye.
  - Mr. Paine, aye.
- New Jersey—
  - Mr. Beatty, aye.
  - Mr. Dick, aye.

Delaware (absent).
Pennsylvania—
  Mr. Mifflin, aye.
  Mr. Montgomery, aye.
  Mr. Hand, aye.
Maryland—
  Mr. Stone, aye.
  Mr. Chase, aye.
Georgia (absent).
Virginia—
  Mr. Jefferson, aye.
  Mr. Mercer, aye.
  Mr. Monroe, aye.
North Carolina—
  Mr. Williams, aye.
  Mr. Spaight, aye.
South Carolina—
  Mr. Reed, no.
  Mr. Beresford, no.

Thus, the report of Mr. Jefferson for the temporary government of the Western Territory, without any restriction whatever as to slavery, received the vote of every State present except South Carolina. It did not "lay on the table of Congress during the three years from 1784 to 1787." During these three years, it was the law of the land. It was repealed in 1787.

Nearly a year after the first plan was adopted, the clause originally offered by Mr. Jefferson, as a part of the *charter of compact and fundamental constitutions* between the thirteen original States and the new States to be formed in the Western Territory, prohibiting slavery and involuntary servitude, was again submitted to Congress, omitting the time named, "after the year 1800 of the Christian era."

On the 16th of March, 1785—

"A motion was made by Mr. King, seconded by Mr. Ellery, that the following proposition be committed:

"That there shall be neither slavery nor involuntary servitude in any of the States described in the resolve of Congress of the 23d of April, 1784, otherwise than in the punishment of crimes whereof the party shall have been personally guilty; and that this regulation shall be an article of compact, and remain a fundamental principle of the constitutions between the thirteen original States and each of the States described in the said resolve of the 23d of April, 1784."

The motion was, "that the following proposition be committed"—that is, committed to a committee of the whole House; it was not "in the nature of an instruction to the Committee on the Western Territory." At that time, there was no such committee. It was a separate, independent proposition. The very terms of it show that it was offered as an addition to the resolve of April 23, 1784, with the intention of restoring to that resolve a clause that had originally formed a part of it.

Mr. King's motion to commit was agreed to—eight States (New Hampshire, Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Connecticut, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, and Maryland) voted in the affirmative, and three States (Virginia, North Carolina, and South Carolina) in the negative. Neither Delaware nor Georgia was represented.

After the commitment of this proposition, it was neither called up in Congress nor noticed by any of the committees who subsequently reported plans for the government of the Western Territory.

The subject was not laid over from this time till September, 1786. It is noticed as being before Congress on the 24th of March, the 10th of May, the 13th of July, and the 24th of August of that year.

On the 24th of March, 1786, a report was made by the grand Committee of the House, to whom had been referred a motion of Mr. Monroe upon the subject of the Western Territory.

On the 10th of May, 1786, a report was made by another committee, consisting of Mr. Monroe, of Virginia, Mr. Johnson, of Connecticut, Mr. King, of Massachusetts, Mr. Kean, of South Carolina, and Mr. Pinckney, of South Carolina, to whom a motion of Mr. Dane, for considering and reporting the form of a temporary government for the Western Territory, was referred. This report, after amendment, was recommitted on the 13th of July following.

On the 24th of August, 1786, the Secretary of Congress was directed to inform the inhabitants of Kaskaskia "that Congress have under their consideration the plan of a temporary government for the said district, and that its adoption will be no longer protracted than the importance of the subject and a due regard to their interest may require."

On the 19th of September, 1786, a committee, consisting of Mr. Johnson, of Connecticut, Mr. Pinckney, of South Carolina, Mr. Smith, of New York, Mr. Dane, of Massachusetts, and Mr. Henry, of Maryland, appointed to propose a "plan of temporary government for such districts or new States as shall be laid out by the United States upon the principles of the acts of cession from individual States, and admitted into the Confederacy," made a report, which was taken up for consideration on the 29th, and, after some discussion, and several motions to amend, the further consideration was postponed.

On the 26th of April, 1787, same committee (Mr. Johnson, Mr. Pinckney, Mr. Smith, Mr. Dane, and Mr. Henry) reported "an ordinance for the government of the Western Territory." It was read a second time, and amended on the 9th of May, and the next day was assigned for the third reading. On the 10th, the order of the day for the third reading was called for by the State of Massachusetts, and was postponed. On the 9th and 10th of May, Massachusetts was represented by Mr. Gorhan, Mr. King, and Mr. Dane. The proposition which, on Mr. King's motion, was "committed" on the 16th of March of the preceding year, was not in the ordinance, as reported by the committee, nor was any motion made in the Congress to insert it as an amendment.

The following is a copy of the ordinance as amended and ordered to a third reading:

AN ORDINANCE FOR THE GOVERNMENT OF THE WESTERN TERRITORY.

It is hereby ordained by the United States, in Congress assembled, that there shall be appointed, from time to time, a governor, whose commission shall continue in force for the term of three years, unless sooner revoked by Congress.

There shall be appointed by Congress, from time to time, a secretary, whose commission shall continue in force for four years, unless sooner revoked by Congress. It shall be his duty to keep and preserve the acts and laws passed by the General Assembly, and public records of the district, and of the proceedings of the governor in his executive department, and transmit authentic copies of such acts and proceedings every six months to the Secretary of Congress.

There shall also be appointed a court to consist of three judges, any two of whom shall form a court, who shall have a common law jurisdiction, whose commissions shall continue in force during good behavior.

And, to secure the rights of personal liberty and property to the inhabitants and others, purchasers in the said districts, it is hereby ordained that the inhabitants of said districts shall always be entitled to the benefits of the act of *habeas corpus* and of the trial by jury.

The governor and judges, or a majority of them, shall adopt and publish in the districts such laws of the original States, criminal and civil, as may be necessary and best suited to the circumstances of the district, and report them to Congress from time to time, which shall prevail in said district until the organization of the General Assembly, unless disapproved of by Congress; but, afterward, the General Assembly shall have authority to alter them as they see fit; provided, however, that said Assembly shall have no power to create perpetuities.

The governor, for the time being, shall be commander-in-chief of the militia, and appoint and commission all officers in the same below the rank of general officers; all officers of that rank shall be appointed and commissioned by Congress.

Previous to the organization of the General Assembly, the governor shall appoint such magistrates and other civil officers, in each county or township, as he shall find necessary for the preservation of peace and good order in the same. After the General Assembly shall be organized, the powers and duties of magistrates and other civil officers shall be regulated and defined by the said Assembly; but all magistrates and other civil officers, not herein otherwise directed, shall, during the continuance of this temporary government, be appointed by the governor.

The governor shall, as soon as may be, proceed to lay out the district into counties and townships, subject, however, to such alterations as may thereafter be made by the legislature, so soon as there shall be five thousand free male inhabitants, of full age, within the said district. Upon giving due proof thereof to the governor, they shall receive authority, with time and place, to elect representatives from their counties or townships, as aforesaid, to represent them in General Assembly: provided, that for every five hundred free male inhabitants there shall be one representative, and so on progressively with the number of free male inhabitants shall the right of representation increase, until the number of representatives amounts to twenty-five; after which the number and proportion of representatives shall be regulated by the legislature: provided, that no person shall be eligible or qualified to act as a representative, unless he be a citizen of one of the United States, or have resided within such district three years, and shall likewise hold, in his own right, in fee-simple, two hundred acres of land within the same: provided, also, that a freehold or life estate in fifty acres of land in the said district, if a citizen of any of the United States, and two years' residence, if a foreigner, in addition, shall be necessary to qualify a man as elector for the said representative.

The representatives thus elected shall serve for the term of two years, and, in case of the death of a representative, or removal from office, the governor shall issue a writ to the county or township for which he was a member, to elect another in his stead, to serve for the residue of the time.

The General Assembly shall consist of the governor, a legislative council, to consist of five members, to be appointed by the United States, in Congress assembled, to continue in office during pleasure, any three of whom to be a quorum, and a House of Representatives. who shall have a legislative authority complete in all cases for the good government of said district: provided, that no act of the said General Assembly shall be construed to affect any lands the property of the United States: and provided, further, that the lands of the non-resident proprietors shall in no instance be taxed higher than the lands of residents.

All bills shall originate indifferently either in the council or House of Representatives, and, having been passed by a majority in both Houses, shall be referred to the governor for his assent, after obtaining which they shall be complete and valid; but no bill or legislative act whatever shall be valid or of any force without his assent.

The governor shall have power to convene, prorogue, and dissolve the General Assembly when, in his opinion, it shall be expedient.

The said inhabitants or settlers shall be subject to pay a part of the Federal debts, contracted or to be contracted, and to bear a proportional part of the burdens of the government, to be apportioned on them by Congress, according to the same common rule and measure by which apportionments thereof shall be made on the other States.

The governor, judges, legislative council, secretary, and such other officers as Congress shall at any time think proper to appoint in such district, shall take an oath or affirmation of fidelity; the governor before the President of Congress, and all other officers before the governor, prescribed on the 17th day of January, 1785, to the Secretary of War, *mutatis mutandis.*

Whensoever any of the said States shall have of free inhabitants as many as are equal in number to the one-thirteenth part of the citizens of the original States, to be computed from the last enumeration, such State shall be admitted by its delegates into the Congress of the United States, on an equal footing with the said original States: provided, the consent of so many States in Congress is first obtained as may at that time be competent to such admission.

Resolved, That the resolutions of the 23d of April, 1784, be and the same are hereby annulled and repealed.

Such was the ordinance for the government of the Western Territory, when it was ordered to a third reading, on the 10th of May, 1787. It had then made no further progress in the development of those great principles for which it has since been distinguished as "one of the greatest monuments of civil jurisprudence." It made no provision for the equal distribution of estates. It said nothing of extending the fundamental principles of civil and religious liberty—nothing of the rights of conscience, knowledge, or education. It did not contain the articles of compact, which were to remain unaltered forever, unless by common consent.

We now come to the time when these great principles were first brought forward.

On the 9th of July, 1787, the ordinance was again referred. The committee now consisted of Mr. Carrington, of Virginia, Mr. Dane, of Massachusetts, Mr. R. H. Lee, of Virginia, Mr. Kean, of South Carolina, and Mr. Smith, of New York. Mr. Carrington, Mr. Lee, and Mr. Kean, the new members, were a majority.

This committee did not "merely revise the ordinance;" they prepared and reported the great BILL OF RIGHTS for the territory northwest of the Ohio.

The question is here presented, why was Mr. Carrington, a new member of the committee, placed at the head of it, to the exclusion of Mr. Dane and Mr. Smith, who had served previously? In the absence of positive evidence, there appears to be but one answer to this question. The opinions of all the members were known in Congress. In the course of debate, new views had been presented, which must have been received with general approbation. A majority of the committee were the advocates of these views, and the member by whom they were presented to the House was selected as the chairman. There is nothing improbable or out of the usual course of proceeding in this. Indeed, the prompt action of the committee and of the Congress goes very far to confirm it.

On the 11th of July (two days after the reference), Mr. Carrington reported the ordinance for the government of the territory of the United States north-west of the River Ohio. This ordinance was read a second time on the 12th (and amended, as stated below), and, on the 13th, it was read a third time, and passed by the unanimous vote of the eight States present in the Congress.

On the passage, the yeas and nays (being required by Mr. Yates) were as follows:

New Hampshire (absent).
Massachusetts—
  Mr. Holten, aye.
  Mr. Dane, aye.
New York—
  Mr. Smith, aye.
  Mr. Haring, aye.
  Mr. Yates, no.

- Rhode Island (absent).
- Connecticut (absent).
- New Jersey—
  - Mr. Clarke, aye.
  - Mr. Schureman, aye.
- Delaware—
  - Mr. Kearney, aye.
  - Mr. Mitchell, aye.
- Virginia—
  - Mr. Grayson, aye.
  - Mr. R. H. Lee, aye.
  - Mr. Carrington, aye.
- Maryland (absent).
- North Carolina—
  - Mr. Blount, aye.
  - Mr. Hawkins, aye.
- South Carolina—
  - Mr. Kean, aye.
  - Mr. Huger, aye.
- Georgia—
  - Mr. Few, aye.
  - Mr. Pierce, aye.
- Pennsylvania (absent).

It appears, then, that, instead of having "this ordinance under deliberation and revision for three years and six months," in *five days* it was passed through all the forms of legislation—the reference, the action of the committee, the report, the three several readings, the discussion and amendment by Congress, and the final passage.

On the 12th of July (as above stated), Mr. Dane offered the following amendment, which was adopted as the sixth of the articles of the compact:

"*Article the Sixth.* There shall be neither slavery nor involuntary servitude in the said territory, otherwise than in the punishment of crimes, whereof the party shall have been duly convicted; *provided, always,* that any person, escaping into the same, from whom labor or service is claimed in any of the original States, such fugitive may be lawfully reclaimed and conveyed to the person claiming his or her labor or service, as aforesaid."

This had, in part, been presented by Mr. Jefferson, in 1784, and again by Mr. King, in 1785. The assertion that this clause, "as it now exists in the ordinance," was "proposed and carried by Mr. King, when neither Jefferson nor Dane was present," is singularly incorrect. In the proposition submitted by Mr. King, in 1785 (which was never afterward called up in Congress), there was no provision for reclaiming fugitives; and, without such a provision, it could not have been carried at all; besides, the clause, "as it now exists in the ordinance," was proposed by Mr. Dane, on the 12th of

July, 1787, and carried by the unanimous vote of Congress, when Mr. King was not present.

Mr. King was a member of the convention for framing the Federal constitution. He was present and voted in the convention on the 12th of July, 1787. The whole of that day was occupied in settling the proportion of representation and direct taxation, which was then determined as it now stands in the constitution, viz: "By adding to the whole number of free persons, including those bound to service for a term of years, and excluding Indians, not taxed, *three-fifths of all other persons.*"

The Congress and the convention were both in session at the same time, in Philadelphia.* There was, of course, free intercourse and interchange of opinion between the members of the two bodies. To this may be attributed the adoption on the same day of the clause in the ordinance and the clause in the constitution.

The accompanying copy of the ordinance shows the amendments made in Congress, on the 12th of July, to Mr. Carrington's report of the 11th. All that was struck out is printed in [*italic*], what was inserted is in SMALL CAPITALS. The reader, on comparing this with the plans previously reported by Mr. Jefferson and by Mr. Johnson, will see that most of the principles "on which its wisdom and fame rest" were first presented by Mr. Carrington.

AN ORDINANCE FOR THE GOVERNMENT OF THE TERRITORY OF THE UNITED STATES NORTH-WEST OF THE RIVER OHIO.

Be it ordained by the United States, in Congress assembled, That the said Territory, for the purposes of temporary government, be one district; subject, however, to be divided into two districts, as future circumstances may, in the opinion of Congress, make it expedient.

Be it ordained by the authority aforesaid, That the estates both of resident and non-resident proprietors in the said Territory, dying intestate, shall descend to and be distributed among their children and the descendants of a deceased child in equal parts; the descendants of a deceased child or grandchild to take the share of their deceased parent in equal parts among them; and where there shall be no children or descendants, then in equal parts to the next of kin, in equal degree; and among collaterals, the children of a deceased brother or sister of the intestate shall have in equal parts among them their deceased parent's share; AND THERE SHALL IN NO CASE BE A DISTINCTION BETWEEN KINDRED OF THE WHOLE AND HALF BLOOD; saving in all cases to the widow of the intestate her third part of the real estate for life, and [*where there shall be no children of the intestate*] one-third part of the personal estate; and this law relative to descents and dower shall remain in full force until altered by the legislature of the district. And until the governor and judges shall adopt laws as hereinafter mentioned, estates in the said Territory may be devised or bequeathed by wills in writing, signed and sealed by him or her in whom the estate may be (being of full age), and attested by three witnesses; and real estates may be conveyed by lease and release, or bargain and sale, signed, sealed, and delivered by the person, being of full age, in whom the estate may be, and attested by two witnesses, provided such wills be duly proved, and such conveyances be acknowledged, or the execution thereof duly proved, and be recorded within one year after proper magistrates, courts, and registers shall be appointed for that purpose; and personal property may be transferred by delivery, saving, however, to the [*inhabitants of Kaskaskies and Post Vincent*] FRENCH AND CANADIAN INHABITANTS, AND OTHER SETTLERS OF THE KASKASKIES, ST. VINCENT'S, AND THE NEIGHBORING VILLAGES, WHO HAVE HERETOFORE PROFESSED THEMSELVES CITIZENS OF VIRGINIA, their laws and customs now in force among them relative to the descent and conveyance of property.

---

* An evident error. Congress was in session in New York.

Be it ordained by the authority aforesaid, That there shall be appointed, from time to time, by congress, a governor, whose commission shall continue in force for the term of three years, unless sooner revoked by Congress: he shall reside in the district and have a freehold estate therein in one thousand acres of land, while in the exercise of his office.

There shall be appointed, from time to time, by Congress, a secretary, whose commission shall continue in force for four years, unless sooner revoked: he shall reside in the district, and have a freehold estate therein, in five hundred acres of of land, while in the exercise of his office. It shall be his duty to keep and preserve the acts and laws passed by the legislature, and the public records of the district, of the proceedings of the governor in his executive department, and transmit authentic copies of such acts and proceedings every six months to the Secretary of Congress.

There shall also be appointed a court, to consist of three judges, any two of whom to form a court, who shall have a common-law jurisdiction, and reside in the district, and have each therein a freehold estate, in five hundred acres of land, while in the exercise of their offices; and their commissions shall continue in force during good behavior.

The governor and judges, or a majority of them, shall adopt and publish in the district such laws of the original States, criminal and civil, as may be necessary and best suited to the circumstances of the district, and report them to Congress from time to time, which laws shall be in force in the district until the organization of the General Assembly therein, unless disapproved of by Congress; but afterward the legislature shall have authority to alter them as they shall think fit.

The governor, for the time being, shall be commander-in-chief of the militia, and appoint and commission all officers in the same below the rank of general officers; all GENERAL officers [*above that rank*] shall be appointed and commissioned by Congress.

Previous to the organization of the General Assembly, the governor shall appoint such magistrates and other civil officers in each county or township as he shall find necessary for the preservation of the peace and good order in the same. After the General Assembly shall be organized, the powers and duties of magistrates and other civil officers shall be regulated and defined by the said Assembly; but all magistrates and other civil officers, not herein otherwise directed, shall, during the continuance of this temporary government, be appointed by the governor.

For the prevention of crimes and injuries, the laws to be adopted or made shall have force in all parts of the district, and for the execution of process, criminal and civil, the governor shall make proper divisions thereof; and he shall proceed, from time to time, as circumstances may require, to lay out the parts of the district in which the Indian titles shall have been extinguished into counties and townships, subject, however, to such alterations as may thereafter be made by the legislature.

As soon as there shall be five thousand free male inhabitants, of full age, in the district, upon giving proof thereof to the governor, they shall receive authority, with time and place, to elect representatives from their counties or townships, to represent them in the General Assembly: provided, that, for every five hundred free male inhabitants, there shall be one representative, and so on progressively with the number of free male inhabitants shall the right of representation increase, until the number of representatives shall amount to twenty-five; after which the number and proportion of representatives shall be regulated by the legislature: provided that no person shall be eligible or qualified to act as a representative, unless he shall have been a citizen of one of the United States three years, and be a resident in the district, or unless he shall have resided in the district three years, and, in either case, shall likewise hold in his own right, in fee simple, two hundred acres of land within the same: provided, also, that a freehold in fifty acres of land in the district, having been a citizen of one of the States, and being resident in the district, or the like freehold and two years' residence in the district, shall be necessary to qualify a man as an elector of a representative.

The representatives thus elected shall serve for the term of two years, and, in case of the death of the representative, or removal from office, the governor shall issue a writ to the county or township for which he was a member, to elect another in his stead, to serve for the residue of the term.

The General Assembly, or legislature, shall consist of the governor, legislative council, and a House of Representatives. The legislative council shall consist of five members, to continue in office five years, unless sooner removed by Congress, any three of whom to be a quorum, and the members of the council shall be nominated and appointed in the following manner, to wit: As soon as representatives shall be elected, the governor shall appoint a time and place for them to meet together, and, when met, they shall nominate ten persons, residents in the district, and each possessed of a freehold in five hundred acres of land, and return their names to Congress; five of whom Congress shall appoint and commission to serve as aforesaid; and whenever a vacancy shall happen in the council, by death or removal from office, the House of Representatives shall nominate two persons, qualified as aforesaid, for each vacancy, and return their names to Congress; one of whom Congress shall appoint and commission for the residue of the term; and every five years, four months at least before the expiration of the term of service of the members of council, the said House shall nominate ten persons, qualified as aforesaid, and return their names to Congress, five of whom Congress shall appoint and commission to serve as members of the council five years, unless sooner removed. And the governor, legislative council, and House of Representatives shall have authority to make laws, in all cases, for the good government of the district, not repugnant to the principles and articles in this ordinance established and declared. And all bills having passed by a majority in the House, and by a majority in the council, shall be referred to the governor for his assent; but no bill or legislative act whatever shall be of any force without his assent. The governor shall have power to convene, prorogue, and dissolve the General Assembly, when, in his opinion, it shall be expedient.

The governor, judges, legislative council, secretary, and such other officers as Congress shall appoint in the district, shall take an oath or affirmation of fidelity and of office; the governor before the President of Congress, and all other officers before the governor. As soon as a legislature shall be formed in the district, the council and House, assembled in one room, shall have authority by joint ballot to elect a delegate to Congress, who shall have a seat in Congress, with a right of debating, but not of voting, during this temporary government.

And for extending [*to all parts of the Confederacy*] the fundamental principles of civil and religious liberty, which form the basis whereon these Republics, their laws and constitutions, are erected; to fix and establish those principles as the basis of all laws, constitutions, and governments which forever hereafter shall be formed in said territory; to provide also for the establishment of States, and permanent government therein, and for their admission to a share in the Federal councils, on an equal footing with the original States, at as early periods as may be consistent with the general interest—

It is hereby ordained and declared by the authority aforesaid, That the following articles shall be considered as articles of compact between the original States and the people and States in the said territory, and forever remain unalterable, unless by common consent, to wit:

Article the First. No person demeaning himself in a peaceable and orderly manner shall ever be molested on account of his mode of worship or religious sentiments in the said territory.

Article the Second. The inhabitants of the said territory shall always be entitled to the benefits of the writ of habeas corpus and of the trial by jury; of a proportionate representation of the people in the legislature, and of judicial proceedings according to the course of the common law; all persons shall be bailable, unless for capital offenses, where the proof shall be evident or the presumption great; all fines shall be moderate, and no cruel or unusual punishments shall be inflicted; no man shall be deprived of his liberty or property but by the judgment of his peers, or the law of the land; and should the public exigencies make it necessary, for the common preservation, to take any person's property, or to demand his particular services, full compensation shall be made for the same; and, in the just preservation of rights and property, it is understood and declared that no law ought ever to be made, or have force in the said territory, that shall, in any manner whatever, interfere with or affect private contracts or engagements, bona fide and without fraud, previously formed.

Article the Third. [*Institutions for the promotion of*] re-religion [and] morality, AND KNOWLEDGE, BEING NECESSARY TO GOOD GOVERNMENT AND THE HAPPINESS OF MANKIND, schools and the means of education shall forever be encouraged [*and all persons while young shall be taught some useful occupation*].

The utmost good faith shall always be observed toward the Indians; their lands and property shall never be taken from them without their consent; and, in their property, rights, and liberty, they never shall be invaded or disturbed, unless in just or lawful wars authorized by Congress; but laws founded in justice and humanity shall from time to time be made, for preventing wrongs being done to them, and for preserving peace and friendship with them.

Article the Fourth. The said territory, and the States which may be formed therein, shall forever remain a part of this Confederacy of the United States of America, subject to the articles of Confederation, and to such alterations therein as shall constitutionally be made; and to all the acts and ordinances of the United States, in Congress assembled, conformable thereto. The inhabitants and settlers in the said territory shall be subject to pay a part of the Federal debts, contracted or to be contracted, and a proportional part of the expenses of government, to be apportioned on them by Congress, according to the same common rule and measure by which apportionments thereof shall be made on the other States; and the taxes for paying their proportion shall be laid and levied by the authority and direction of the legislatures of the district or districts, or new States, as in the original States, within the time agreed upon by the United States, in Congress assembled. The legislatures of those districts, or new States, shall never interfere with the primary disposal of the soil by the United States, in Congress assembled, nor with any regulations Congress may find necessary for securing the title in such soil to the bona fide purchasers. No tax shall be imposed on lands the property of the United States; and in no case shall non-resident proprietors be taxed higher than residents. The navigable waters leading into the Mississippi and St. Lawrence, and the carrying places between the same, shall be common highways, and forever free, as well to the inhabitants of the said territory as to the citizens of the United States, and those of any other States that may be admitted into the Confederacy, without any tax, impost, or duty therefor.

Article the Fifth. There shall be formed in the said territory not less than three nor more than five States; and the boundaries of the States, as soon as Virginia shall alter her act of cession and [*authorize*] CONSENT to the same, shall become fixed and established as follows, to wit: The western State in THE said territory shall be bounded by the Mississippi, the Ohio, and Wabash Rivers; a direct line drawn from the Wabash and Post Vincent's due north to the territorial line between the United States and Canada, and by THE said territorial line to the Lake of the Woods and Mississippi. The middle State shall be bounded by the said direct line, the Wabash from Post Vincent's to the Ohio; by the Ohio, by a direct line drawn due north from the mouth of the Great Miami to THE said territorial line, and by THE said territorial line. The eastern State shall be bounded by the last mentioned direct line, the Ohio, Pennsylvania, and the said territorial line; Provided, however, and it is further understood and declared, that the boundaries of these three States shall be subject so far to be altered, that if Congress shall hereafter find it expedient, they shall have authority to form one or two States in that part of the said territory which lies north of an east and west line drawn through the southerly bend or extreme of Lake Michigan; and whenever any of the said States shall have sixty thousand free inhabitants therein, such State shall be admitted by its delegates into the Congress of the United States, on an equal footing with the original States, in all respects whatever; and shall be at liberty to form a permanent constitution and State government: Provided, the constitution and government so to be formed shall be republican, and in conformity to the principles stated in these articles; and, so far as it can be consistent with the general interest of the Confederacy, such admission shall be allowed at an earlier period, and when there may be a less number of free inhabitants in the State than sixty thousand.

Article the Sixth. THERE SHALL BE NEITHER SLAVERY NOR INVOLUNTARY SERVITUDE IN THE SAID TERRITORY, OTHERWISE THAN IN PUNISHMENT OF CRIMES WHEREOF THE PARTY SHALL HAVE BEEN DULY CONVICTED; PROVIDED, ALWAYS, THAT ANY PERSON ESCAPING INTO THE SAME, FROM WHOM LABOR OR SERVICE IS LAWFULLY CLAIMED IN ANY ONE OF THE ORIGINAL STATES, SUCH FUGITIVE MAY BE LAWFULLY RECLAIMED AND CONVEYED

TO THE PERSON CLAIMING HIS OR HER LABOR OR SERVICE AS AFORESAID.

Be it ordained by the authority aforesaid, That the resolutions of the 23d of April, 1784, RELATIVE TO THE SUBJECT OF THIS ORDINANCE, be and the same are hereby repealed and declared null and void.

Done by the United States, in Congress assembled, the 13th day of July, in the year of our Lord 1787; and of their sovereignty and independence the 12th.

CHAS. THOMSON, *Sec'y.*

ORDINANCES FOR THE SALE OF LANDS IN THE NORTH-WESTERN TERRITORY.

[*In Congress, July* 23, 1787, 1 *Vol. L. U. S., p.* 573.]

The report of a committee, consisting of Mr. Carrington, Mr. King, Mr. Dane, Mr. Madison, and Mr. Benson, amended to read as follows, viz:

That the Board of Treasury be authorized and empowered to contract with any person or persons for a grant of a tract of land which shall be bounded by the Ohio, from the mouth of the Scioto to the intersection of the western boundary of the seventh range of townships now surveying; thence, by the said boundary to the northern boundary of the tenth township from the Ohio; thence, by a due west line, to the Scioto; thence, by the Scioto, to the beginning, upon the following terms, viz: The tract to be surveyed, and its contents ascertained, by the geographer or some other officer of the United States, who shall plainly mark the said east and west line, and shall render one complete plat to the Board of Treasury, and another to the purchaser or purchasers.

The purchaser or purchasers, within seven years from the completion of this work, to lay off the whole tract, at their own expense, into townships and fractional parts of townships, and to divide the same into lots, according to the land ordinance of the 20th of May, 1785; complete returns whereof to be made to the Treasury Board. The lot No. 16, in each township or fractional part of a township, to be given perpetually for the purposes contained in the said ordinance. The lot No. 29, in each township or fractional part of a township, to be given perpetually for the purposes of religion.* The lots Nos. 8, 11, and 26, in each township or fractional part of a township, to be reserved for the future disposition of Congress. Not more than two complete townships to be given perpetually for the purposes of a University, to be laid off by the purchaser or purchasers, as near the center as may be, so that the same shall be of good land, to be applied to the intended object by the legislature of the State. The price to be not less than one dollar per acre for the contents of the said tract, excepting the reservations and gifts aforesaid, payable in specie, loan-office certificates reduced to specie value, or certificates of liquidated debts of the United States, liable to a reduction by an allowance for bad land, and all incidental charges and circumstances whatever: *Provided*, That such allowance shall not exceed, in the whole, one-third of a dollar per acre. And in making payment the principal only of the said certificates shall be admitted, and the Board of Treasury, for such interest as may be due on the certificates rendered in payment as aforesaid, prior to January 1, 1786, shall issue indents for interest to the possessors, which shall be receivable in payment as other indents for interest of the existing requisitions of Congress; and for such interest as may be due on the said certificates between that period and the period of payment, the said board shall issue indents, the payment of which to be provided for in future requisitions, or otherwise. Such of the purchasers as may possess rights for bounties of land to the late army, to be permitted to render the same in discharge of the contract, acre for acre: *Provided*, That the aggregate of such rights shall not exceed one-seventh part of the land to be paid for: *And provided also*, That there shall be no future claim against the United States on account of the said rights. Not less than 500,000 dollars of the purchase-money to be paid down upon closing of the contract, and the remainder upon the completion of the work to be performed by the geographer or other officer on the part of the United States. Good and sufficient security to be given by the purchaser or purchasers for the completion of the contract on his or their part. The grant to be made upon the full payment of the consideration money, and a right of entry and occupancy to be acquired immediately for so much of the tract as shall be agreed upon between the Board of Treasury and the purchasers.

---

* The grant of No. 29, for religious purposes, is confined to the Ohio Company and J. C. Symmes' purchase.

July 23, 1787. *Ordered*, That the above be referred to the Board of Treasury to take order.

LETTER OF CUTLER AND SARGENT TO THE BOARD OF TREASURY, DATED NEW YORK, JULY 26, 1787, FROM JOURNALS OF CONGRESS, VOLUME 4, APPENDIX, PAGE 17.

We observe, by the act of the 23d instant, that your honorable board is authorized to enter into a contract for the sale of a tract of land therein described, on certain conditions expressed in the act. As we suppose this measure has been adopted in consequence of proposals made by us in behalf of ourselves and associates, to a committee of Congress, we beg leave to inform you that we are ready to enter into a contract for the purchase of the lands described in the act, provided you can conceive yourselves authorized to admit of the following conditions, which, in some degree, vary from the report of the committee, viz:

The subordinate surveys shall be completed as mentioned in the act, unless the frequency of Indian irruptions may render the same impracticable without a heavy expense to the company.

The mode of payment we propose is, half a million of dollars when the contract is executed; another half a million when the tract, as described, is surveyed by the proper officer of the United States; and the remainder in six equal payments, computed from the day of the second payment.

The lands assigned for the establishment of a university to be as nearly as possible in the center of the first million and a half of acres we shall *pay for*; for, to fix it in the center of the proposed purchase, might too long defer the establishment.

When the second payment is made, the purchasers will receive a deed for as great a quantity of land as a million of dollars shall pay for, at the price agreed on; after which we will agree not to receive any further deeds for any of the lands purchased, only at such periods, and on such conditions, as may be agreed on betwixt the board and the purchasers.

As to the security, which the act says shall be good and sufficient, we are unable to determine what those terms may mean, in the contemplation of Congress, or of your honorable board; we shall, therefore, only observe that our private fortunes, and that of most of our associates, being embarked in the support of the purchase, it is not possible for us to offer any adequate security but that of the land itself, as is usual in great land purchases.

We will agree so to regulate the contracts that we shall never be entitled to a right of entry or occupancy but on lands actually paid for, nor receive any deeds till our payments amount to a million of dollars, and then only in proportion to such payment. The advance we shall always be under, without any formal deed, together with the improvements made on the lands, will, we presume, be ample security, even if it was not the interest as well as the disposition of the company to lay the foundation of their establishment on a sacred regard to the rights of property.

If these terms are admitted, we shall be ready to conclude the contract.

We have the honor to be, with the greatest respect, for ourselves and associates, etc., MANASSEH CUTLER,
WINTHROP SARGENT.

July 27, 1787. "*Ordered*, That the above letter from Manasseh Cutler and Winthrop Sargent, to the Board of Treasury, containing proposals for the purchase of a tract of land described in the act of Congress of the 23d instant, be referred to the Board of Treasury to take order: *Provided*, That after the date of the second payment therein proposed to be made, the residue shall be paid in six equal and half-yearly installments, until the whole thereof shall be completed, and that the purchasers stipulate to pay interest on the sums due from the completion of the survey to be performed by the geographer."

AN ORDINANCE FOR ASCERTAINING THE MODE OF DISPOSING OF LANDS IN THE WESTERN TERRITORY.

[*Passed May* 20, 1785.]

"*Be it ordained by the United States in Congress assembled*, That the Territory ceded by individual States to the United States, which has been purchased of the Indian inhabitants, shall be disposed of in the following manner:

"A SURVEYOR from each State shall be appointed by Congress, or a Committee of the States, who shall take an oath for the faithful discharge of his duty, before the Geographer of the United States, who is hereby empowered and directed to administer the same, and the like oath shall be administered to each chain-carrier by the surveyor under whom he acts.

"The geographer under whose direction the surveyors shall act, shall occasionally form such regulations for their conduct as he shall deem necessary; and shall have authority to suspend them for misconduct in office, and shall make report of the same to Congress, or to the Committee of the States; and he shall make report in case of sickness, death, or resignation of any surveyor.

"The surveyors, as they are respectively qualified, shall proceed to divide the said Territory into townships of six miles square, by lines running due north and south, and others crossing these at right angles, as near as may be, unless the boundaries of the late Indian purchases may render the same impracticable, and then they shall depart from this rule no further than such particular circumstances may require. And each surveyor shall be allowed and paid at the rate of two dollars for every mile in length he shall run, including the wages of chain-carriers, markers, and every other expense attending the same.

"The first line running north and south as aforesaid, shall begin on the River Ohio, at a point that shall be found due north from the western termination of a line which has been run as the southern boundary of the State of Pennsylvania; and the first line running east and west shall begin at the same point, and shall extend throughout the whole Territory: *Provided*, That nothing herein shall be construed as fixing the western boundary of the State of Pennsylvania. The geographer shall designate the townships, or fractional parts of townships, by numbers progressively from south to north; always beginning each range with No. 1; and the ranges shall be distinguished by their progressive numbers to the westward. The first range extending from the Ohio to the Lake Erie, being marked No. 1; the geographer shall personally attend to the running of the first east and west line; and shall take the latitude of the extremes of the first north and south line, and of the mouths of the principal rivers.

"The lines shall be measured with a chain; shall be plainly marked by chaps on the trees, and exactly described on a plat, whereon shall be noted by the surveyor, at their proper distances, all mines, salt-springs, salt-licks, and mill-seats that shall come to his knowledge; and all water-courses, mountains, and other remarkable and permanent things, over and near which such lines shall pass, and also the quality of the lands.

"The plats of the townships respectively shall be marked by subdivisions into lots of one mile square, or six hundred and forty acres, in the same direction as the external lines, and numbered from 1 to 36; always beginning at the succeeding range of the lots with the number next to that with which the preceding one concluded. And where, from the causes before mentioned, only a fractional part of a township shall be surveyed, the lots protracted thereon shall bear the same numbers as if the township had been entire. And the surveyors, in running the external lines of the townships, shall, at the interval of every mile, mark corners for the lots which are adjacent, always designating the same in a different manner from those of the townships.

"The geographer and surveyors shall pay the utmost attention tot he variation of the magnetic needle; and shall run and note all lines by the true meridian, certifying with every plat what was the variation at the times of running the lines thereon noted.

"As soon as seven ranges of townships, and fractional parts of townships, in the direction from south to north, shall have been surveyed, the geographer shall transmit plats thereof to the Board of Treasury, who shall record the same, with the report, in well bound books to be kept for that purpose. And the geographer shall make similar returns, from time to time, of every seven ranges as they may be surveyed. The Secretary at War shall have recourse thereto, and shall take by lot therefrom a number of townships and fractional parts of townships, as well from those to be sold entire, as from those to be sold in lots, as will be equal to one-seventh part of the whole of such seven ranges, as nearly as may be, for the use of the late Continental army; and he shall make a similar draft, from time to time, until a sufficient quantity is drawn to satisfy the same, to be applied in manner hereafter directed. The Board of Treasury shall, from time to time, cause the remaining numbers, as well those to be sold entire as those to be sold in lots, to be drawn for in the name of the thirteen States respectively, according to their quotas in the last preceding requisition on all the States; *provided*, that in case more land than its proportion is allotted for sale, in any State at any distribution, a deduction be made therefor at the next.

"The Board of Treasury shall transmit a copy of the original plats, previously noting thereon the townships, and fractional parts of townships, which shall have fallen to the several States by the distribution aforesaid, to the Commissioners of the Loan Office of the several States, who, after giving notice of not less than two nor more than six months, by causing advertisements to be posted up at the Court-houses, or other noted places in every county, and to be inserted in one newspaper published in the States of their residence respectively, shall proceed to sell the townships, or fractional parts of townships, at public vendue, in the following manner, viz: The township or fractional part of township No. 1, in the first range, shall be sold entire, and No. 2, in the same range, by lots; and thus, in alternate order, through the whole of the first range. The township or fractional part of township No. 1, in the second range, shall be sold by lots, and No. 2, in the same range, entire; and so, in alternate order, through the whole of the second range; and the third range shall be sold in the same manner as the first, and the fourth in the same manner as the second, and thus, alternately, through all the ranges; *provided*, that none of the lands within the said territory be sold under the price of one dollar the acre, to be paid in specie, or Loan Office certificates reduced to specie value by the scale of depreciation, or certificates of liquidated debts of the United States, including interest, besides the expense of the survey and other charges thereon, which are hereby rated at thirty-six dollars the township, in specie or certificates as aforesaid, and so for the same proportion for the fractional part of a township, or of a lot, to be paid at the time of sales; on failure of which payment, the said lands shall be again offered for sale.

"There shall be reserved for the United States out of every township, the four lots being numbered 8, 11, 26, 29, and out of every fractional part of township so many lots of the same numbers as shall be found thereon, for future sales. There shall be reserved the lot No. 16 of every township for the maintenance of public schools, within the said township; also, one-third part of all gold, silver, lead, and copper mines, to be sold or otherwise disposed of, as Congress shall hereafter direct.

"When any township, or fractional part of a township, shall have been sold as aforesaid, and the money or certificates received therefor, the Loan Officer shall deliver a deed in the following terms:

"*The United States of America to all to whom these presents shall come, Greeting:*

"KNOW YE, That, for the consideration of —— dollars, we have granted and do hereby grant and confirm unto —— the township [or, fractional part of the township, as the case may be] numbered ——, in the range ——, excepting therefrom and reserving one-third part of all gold, silver, lead, and copper mines within the same, and the lots No. 8, 11, 26, and 29, for future sale or disposition, and the lot No. 16, for the maintenance of public schools. To have to the said ——, his heirs and assigns forever [or, if more than one purchaser, to the said ——, their heirs and assigns forever, as tenants in common].

"*In witness whereof*, A. B., Commissioner of the Loan Office, in the State of ——, hath, in conformity to the ordinance passed by the United States, in Congress assembled, the twentieth day of May, in the year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and eighty-five, hereunto set his hand and affixed his seal, this —— day of ——, in the year of our Lord ——, and of the Independence of the United States of America ——.

"And when any township, or fractional part of township, shall be sold by lots as aforesaid, the Commissioner of Loan Office shall deliver a deed therefor in the following form:

"*The United States of America to all to whom these presents shall come, Greeting:*

"KNOW YE, That, for the consideration of —— dollars, we have granted and hereby do grant and confirm unto —— the lot [or, lots, as the case may be] in the township [or, fractional part of township, as the case may be] numbered ——, in the range ——, excepting and reserving one-third part of all gold, silver, lead, and copper mines within the same for future sale or disposition. To have to the said ——, his heirs and assigns forever [or, if more than one purchaser, to the said ——, their heirs and assigns forever, as tenants in common].

"*In witness whereof*, A. B., Commissioner of the Continental Loan Office, in the State of ——, hath, in conformity to the ordinance passed by the United States, in Congress assembled, the twentieth day of May, in the year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and eighty-five, hereunto set his hand and affixed his seal, this —— day of ——, in the year of our Lord ——, and of the Independence of the United States of America ——.

"Which deeds shall be recorded in proper books, by the Commissioner of the Loan Office, and shall be certified to have been recorded, previous to their being delivered to the purchaser, and shall be good and valid to convey the lands in the same described.

"The Commissioners of the Loan Offices respectively shall transmit to the Board of Treasury, every three months, an account of the townships, fractional parts of townships, and lots committed to their charge, specifying therein the names of the persons to whom sold, and the sums of money or certificates received for the same; and shall cause all certificates by them received to be struck through with a circular punch; and they shall be duly charged in the books of the Treasury with the amount of the moneys or certificates, distinguishing the same, by them received as aforesaid.

"If any township, or fractional part of township, or lot, remains unsold for eighteen months after the plat shall have been received by the Commissioners of the Loan Office, the same shall be returned to the Board of Treasury, and shall be sold in such manner as Congress may hereafter direct.

"And whereas, Congress, by their resolutions of the 16th and 18th of September, in the year 1776, and the 12th of August, 1780, stipulated grants of land to certain officers and soldiers of the late continental army, and by the resolution of the 22d of September, 1780, stipulated grants of land to certain officers in the hospital department of the late continental army; for complying therefore with such engagements:

"*Be it ordained*, That the Secretary at War, from the returns in his office, or such other sufficient evidence as the nature of the case may admit, determine who are the objects of the above resolutions and engagements, and the quantity of land to which such persons or their representatives are respectively entitled, and cause the townships or fractional parts of townships, hereinbefore reserved for the use of the late continental army, to be drawn for in such manner as he shall deem expedient, to answer the purpose of an impartial distribution. He shall from time to time transmit certificates to the Commissioners of the Loan Offices of the different States, to the lines of which the military claimants have respectively belonged, specifying the name and rank of the party, the terms of his engagement and time of his service, and the division, brigade, regiment, or company to which he belonged, the quantity of land he is entitled to, and the township, or fractional part of a township, and range out of which his proportion is to be taken.

"The Commissioners of the Loan Offices shall execute deeds, for such undivided portions, in manner and form hereinbefore mentioned, varying only in such a degree as to make the same conformable to the certificate from the Secretary at War.

"Where any military claimants of bounty in lands shall not have belonged to the line of any particular State, similar certificates shall be sent to the Board of Treasury, who shall execute deeds to the parties for the same.

"The Secretary at War, from the proper returns, shall transmit to the Board of Treasury, a certificate specifying the name and rank of the several claimants of the hospital department of the late continental army, together with the quantity of land each claimant is entitled to, and the township, or fractional part of a township, and range, out of which his portion is to be taken; and thereupon the Board of Treasury shall proceed to execute deeds to such claimants.

"The Board of Treasury and the Commissioners of the Loan Offices, within the States, shall, within eighteen months, return receipts to the Secretary at War for all deeds which have been delivered, as also all the original deeds which remain in their hands for want of applicants having been first recorded; which deeds so returned shall be preserved in the office until the parties or their representatives require the same.

"*And be it further ordained*, That three townships adjacent to Lake Erie be reserved, to be hereafter disposed of by Congress, for the use of the officers, men, and others, refugees from Canada, and the refugees from Nova Scotia, who are or may be entitled to grants of land under resolutions of Congress now existing, or which may be hereafter made respecting them, and for such other purposes as Congress may hereafter direct.

"*And be it further ordained*, That the towns of Gnadenhutten, Shoenbrun, and Salem, on the Muskingum, and so much of the lands adjoining to the said towns, with the buildings and improvements thereon, shall be reserved for the sole use of Christian Indians, who were formerly settled there, or the remains of that society, as may, in the judgment of the Geographer, be sufficient for them to cultivate.

"Saving and reserving always, to all officers and soldiers entitled to lands on the north-west side of the Ohio, by donation or bounty from the Commonwealth of Virginia, and to all persons claiming under them, all rights to which they are so entitled under the deed of cession executed by the Delegates for the State of Virginia, on the first day of March, 1784, and the Act of Congress accepting the same; and to the end that the said rights may be fully and effectually secured, according to the true intent and meaning of the said deed of cession and Act aforesaid, *Be it ordained*, That no part of the land included between the rivers called Little Miami and Scioto, on the north-west side of the river Ohio, be sold, or in any manner alienated, until there shall have been laid off and appropriated for the said officers and soldiers, and persons claiming under them, the lands they are entitled to agreeably to the said deed of cession, and Act of Congress accepting the same.

"Done by the United States in Congress assembled, the twentieth day of May, in the year of our Lord One thousand seven hundred and eighty-five, and of our Sovereignty and Independence the ninth.

CHARLES THOMSON, RICHARD H. LEE,
Secretary. *President.*

APPENDIX E.

SERMON PREACHED AT CAMPUS MARTIUS, MARIETTA, NORTH-WEST TERRITORY, AUGUST 24, 1788—CENTURY DISCOURSE, DELIVERED IN HAMILTON, MASS., OCTOBER 27, 1814.

Malachi, Chap. 1, Verse 11: "From the rising of the sun even unto the going down of the same, my name shall be great among the Gentiles; and in every place incense shall be offered unto my name, and a pure offering, for my name shall be great among the heathen, saith the Lord of hosts."

The divine attributes of wisdom and goodness are nowhere more gloriously displayed than in the Gospel dispensation. The singular revolutions and operations of Providence, which the Almighty has already performed, and will yet perform, for the salvation and happiness of man, and the final extension of true religion to every part of the earth, are subjects of delightful contemplation and useful improvement. "To make the soul of man great and good," says a sublime writer,* "it is necessary to give it large and extensive views of the immensity of the works of God, of his providence and grace, and of his inexhausted wisdom and goodness." The oracles of God inform us of the rise and progress of religion unto the time of their completion, and lend a clue to our meditations on the future extent and glory of the Redeemer's kingdom.

The prophetic writers carry us far beyond the apostolic age, or the period in which we now live, to a time when the true God shall be universally worshiped, and sincere and pure incense shall be offered to his name, in every part of the Earth. Malachi, who was the last of the prophetic writers before the advent of the *Messiah*, gives us a striking prediction of this event. Speaking in the prophetic style and in the name of the great *Jehovah*, he says: "From the rising of the sun even unto the going down of the same, my name shall be great among the Gentiles; and in every place incense shall be offered unto my name, and a pure offering, for my name shall be great among the heathen, saith the Lord of hosts."

---

* Dr. Burnet, in his Theory.

The venerable patriarch Jacob, in blessing his son Judah, gives an early intimation of what was afterward more fully predicted. He tells him the scepter shall not depart from his family, till the immortal *Shiloh* shall come, who was to erect an everlasting kingdom, and unto whom the gathering of the people was to be. But the prophet Isaiah seems to have had the fullest view of the Gospel state from the birth of the Messiah to the period of which we now speak. For this reason he has been styled the evangelical prophet. He delivered many interesting and sublime predictions concerning the extension of the Gospel, and the final conversion of the nations. "The earth," says he, in language peculiarly emphatical, "shall be full of the knowledge of the Lord, as the waters cover the sea." "I will also give thee" (speaking of the Messiah), "for a light to the Gentiles, that thou mayest be my salvation unto the ends of the earth." Speaking, in another place, of the spreading of religious knowledge in the remote parts of the world, he expresses himself in the truly eastern style: "The wilderness and the solitary place shall be glad for them; and the desert shall rejoice, and blossom as the rose. It shall blossom abundantly, and rejoice even with joy and singing; they shall see the glory of the Lord and the excellency of our God." To the universal spread of the Gospel must be referred those promises, made to our blessed Lord: "I will give thee the heathen for thine inheritance and the uttermost parts of the earth for thy possession;" all kings shall fall down before him; all people, nations, and languages shall serve him; and when the fullness of the Gentiles is come in, all Israel shall be saved. Many and triumphant are the predictions of this kind, for there is no subject upon which the prophetic writers seem to dwell with more pleasure. All which is confirmed with the utmost solemnity, by the voice of the Angel in the Revelations, declaring "that the kingdoms of this world are become the kingdoms of our Lord, and of his Christ, and he shall reign forever and ever."

Although these prophecies may, in part, have had their completion, by the vast rapidity with which the Gospel spread itself into almost every corner of the old world soon after our Savior's ascension, yet it is impossible that they should have their full accomplishment until it shall have spread through this extensive Continent. We have many of the strongest arguments to induce this belief. For none of the prophetic passages put a shorter limit to the extent of the Gospel than the ends of the earth. The prophecy in the verse of our text is extended "from the rising of the sun unto the going down of the same." And our Savior, the greatest of the Prophets, tells us that "Jerusalem shall be trodden down of the Gentiles until the times of the Gentiles be fulfilled;" for the Jews should be led captive, and dispersed among all nations, until the conversion of the Gentiles should be accomplished. Accordingly, the Jews, for many ages, have had no particular place of abode as a nation, but are dispersed over all the habitable world, hated and despised wherever they are permitted to dwell; and yet, by a singular providence, they are not mixed and blended with other nations so as to be lost among them, but are preserved a distinct people. There is no instance like this in any history. They seem intended for a standing memorial and example of the power of God, and the punishment he inflicts. To me it seems a most rational and convincing argument, indeed, one of the plainest arguments to prove the divine authority of the Scriptures and the fulfillment of the events predicted.

It has been made a question, if such be the intention and purposes of God, why has the accomplishment of them been so long delayed? Why is the Christian religion professed in so small a part of the world, while paganism and Mohammedism overspread at least three-quarters of the globe? Why has God permitted imposture so long to triumph over truth?

With regard to such inquiries, it must be confessed that the imperfect reception of Christianity in the world is one of the darkest mysteries of divine Providence. But, because we can not comprehend the designs of Providence, shall we object against the providence itself? Or conclude that the wise Ruler of the Universe conducts without reason? How can a finite mind fully understand the polity of that Government which is directed by infinite wisdom, justice, and goodness? "Thy judgments are a great deep," says the Psalmist; not to be fathomed by the short line of human reason. Known unto God, and to him alone, are all his counsels from the foundations of the world. Some conjectures, however, we may venture to offer, without the imputation of presumption.

The Supreme Being seems to conduct his operations, except in extraordinary cases, by general laws; both in the natural and moral world, the advances to perfection are gradual and progressive. The Law and the Prophets, which were of old, were but a faint and mysterious revelation of the will of God to the full blaze of the Gospel, whereby his whole counsels shone forth at last to mankind. The Lord once spoke in thunders and lightnings from Mount Sinai, but now leaves the conversion of nations to the ordinary methods of his Providence and Grace. God did not give the Christian Revelation until Roman ambition had brought almost the whole world to a kind of similarity of language and manners, and had opened such an intercourse between distant nations, as made that period one of the most favorable for spreading a new religion. Countries were now accessible that had been before unknown; and universal peace added to universal subjection to one common Empire, gave the disciples of Christ, the first preachers of the Gospel, a great advantage in traveling from clime to clime. Add to this, that this great event was ushered in at a period when the minds of men were in a degree prepared to receive a religion founded on the highest reason and benevolence, and which was calculated to improve the understanding, penetrate the heart, regulate the passions, and engage the affections of rational creatures. A religion that was to be propagated, not by the aid of the sword, nor by the civil arm, not by the arts of superstitious intrigue, or the forces of blind enthusiasm, but by reason and argument, by a conviction of the truth in the hearts and consciences of men. The world for a long time before had been enveloped in dark-ness and ignorance, but the age in which this glorious event took place, was distinguished by wisdom, science, and literary pursuits. The minds of men throughout the East were in expectation of some better instruction than they had ever had in religious matters. In such an age, and when the affairs and minds of men were in such a state, the Son of God appeared and the Christian Dispensation was founded.

May we not, then, indulge the pleasant contemplation that infinite wisdom and goodness, by a series of remarkable events, is preparing the way for the extension of that heaven-born, glorious, and benevolent religion, which consists in truth, righteousness, and peace—a religion most friendly to true freedom and happiness in the present world, and secures eternal felicity in a future and more refined state of existence. A moment's reflection will call up to view a series of singular providences which claim our most devout attention. Reasoning upon moral, as upon natural things, what a beautiful analogy shall we find among all the operations of Divine Providence!

The sun, the glorious luminary of the day, comes forth from his chambers of the East, and, rejoicing to run his course, carries light and heat and joy through the nations to the remotest parts of the West, and returns to the place from whence he came. In like manner divine truth, useful knowledge, and improvements appear to proceed in the same direction, until the bright day of science, virtue, pure religion, and free government, shall pervade this western hemisphere. The inspired writers, we have already seen, delight to speak of the propagation of Christianity, under this figure, as proceeding from the rising to the setting sun until incense shall be offered to the true God in every place. The Divine counsels, opened to us by the events of time, give us just ground to believe that one great end God had in view in the original discovery of this American Continent, and in baffling all the attempts which European Princes have made to subject it to their dominion, and in giving us the quiet possession of it as our own land, was that a new Empire should be called into being—an Empire new, indeed, in point of existence, but more essentially so, as its government is founded on principles of equal liberty and justice. Never before was the wisdom of an Empire collected in *one** august assembly, for the purpose of deliberating, reasoning, and deciding on the best mode of civil government. Never before had a people an opportunity of adopting and carrying into effect, a constitution of government for an extensive consolidated body, which was the result of inferences from the experience of past ages and sober reasoning on the rights and advantages of civil society. It may be emphatically said that a new Empire has sprung into existence, and that there is a new thing under the sun.

By the Constitution now established in the United States, religious as well as civil liberty is secured. Full toleration is granted for free inquiry, and the exercise of the rights of conscience. No one kind of religion, or sect of religion, is established as the national religion, nor made, by national laws, the test of truth. Some serious Christians may possibly tremble for the Ark, and think the Christian religion in danger when divested of the patronage of civil power. They may fear inroads from licentiousness and infidelity, on the one hand, and from sectaries and party divisions on the other. But we may dismiss our fears, when we consider that truth can never be in real hazard, where there is a sufficiency of light and knowledge, and full liberty to vindicate it. Such is the genius of the religion of Christ, that, wherever it is embraced in sincerity and simplicity, it exalts human nature, and makes us just what we ought to be in every condition and relation of life. It displays its excellencies by directing the faith and practices of men in the way that leads to their real happiness; it regulates the passions and animates us to the most virtuous and noble conduct. In a word, it carries its own reward with it—for inspiration has declared that "Godliness is profitable unto all things, having the promise of the life that now is, and that which is to come."

While, therefore, the minds of men are so far enlightened and improved as to form just conceptions of things, and to divest themselves of human prejudices, they will discover an intrinsic excellency in sincere religion that will command respect—that will recommend it to every man's conscience. On the other hand, it is a religion that will bear the strictest scrutiny. Not that it admits of mathematical demonstration; this is a kind of evidence that every well informed mind must see to be inconsistent with a religion suited to the nature and present condition of mankind; but it is supported on such evidence as admits of moral certainty. It is founded on the fulfillment of prophecy, the working of miracles, the testimony of its enemies, the protections of Providence, and its own intrinsic excellencies above any other religion in the world. It is in its own nature worthy of God and suited to man. It is a comment on natural religion, and consonant to every principle of reason. It makes discoveries of the most interesting importance, and nowhere else to be found, for it "brings life and immortality to light." Whence, then, can the Christian dispensation be in danger? Only from ignorance and prejudice, the two great enemies of civil and religious liberty.

---

*The Convention which met in 1787 and formed the Constitution of the United States.

But such is the present state of things in this country, that we have just ground to hope that religion and learning, the useful and ornamental branches of science, will meet with encouragement, and that they will be extended to the remotest parts of the American Empire. Under the conduct of a kind Providence, we see settlements forming in the American wilderness, deserts turning into fruitful fields, and the delightful habitations of civilized and christianized men. Here we behold a country vast in extent, mild in its climate, exuberant in its soil, and favorable to the enjoyment of life. We this day literally see the fulfillment of the prophecy in our text gradually advancing, incense offered to the most high God in *this place*, which was lately the dreary abode of savage barbarity. Here may the Gospel be preached to the latest period of time; the arts and sciences be planted; the seeds of virtue, happiness, and glory be firmly rooted and grow up to full maturity.

The liberality of the hand of nature in this part of the globe seems to have distinguished it from almost all others. Where shall we find a greater assemblage of the necessaries, conveniences, and delights of life than this country is capable of yielding? Where can they be obtained with less effort and toil? But let it be considered that this alone by no means insures solid enjoyment and rational happiness. It is the wise and judicious improvement we make of these natural advantages that will secure happiness. Dissipation, luxury, and vice are the almost inseparable companions of ease and plenty. Hence, it has often been observed that the inhabitants of this part of America can not be a happy people, because the country is so favorable to idleness and vice. But I will venture to affirm that, on the same account, it is equally favorable to the highest degree of human happiness attainable in this life. It has been observed of civil governments that, "that which is best administered is best." Though this may not be strictly true, yet the maxim may be applied with equal propriety in the present case. It is certain that the greatest and best natural advantages may be so perverted as to render us less happy than if we were destitute of them. But permit me to assert, as my fixed opinion, and I think it is free from any professional prejudice, that the pure religion of the Gospel, flowing uncorrupted from its sacred sources, rational, moral, and divine, together with civil liberty and the cultivation of the arts and sciences in their various and extensive branches, must lay the foundation for rational and solid happiness in any country. And as the bounties of nature and Providence are improved to the promotion of these purposes, in the same proportion general happiness will be diffused.

To promote the civil and social happiness of a new settlement, too early attention can not be paid to the cultivation of the principles of religion and the habits of virtue. It is the most favorable opportunity that can possibly offer. When habits become fixed, they are not easily eradicated, whether they are good or bad. We, indeed, bring our habits of thinking and acting in some degree with us, but a new state of things, new objects and prospects, new connections, views, and designs, throw them loose about us. And this is the moment for serious attention and reflection. Let us be upon our guard against every thing that is base, vicious, or dishonorable, and endeavor to cultivate all the virtues of a religious and social life. It is true that temptations to vices which are ruinous to society are not so strong at present as they probably will be hereafter. For the same reason, we ought now to pay the strictest attention to ourselves; to revere the hand of Providence that has hitherto protected us, and is now holding out the prospect of future blessings. It becomes us, as intelligent and dependent beings, to devote ourselves to the service and honor of Him from whom every blessing flows.

We are now engaged in an undertaking important in its nature, which we hope will prove great and honorable in its consequences. But we need the smiles of Heaven, and without these all our hopes will prove abortive. "Happy is that people whose God is the Lord." It is really very instructive to observe among the ancient heathen nations how careful they were to perform religious rites, and to make offerings to their gods whenever they engaged in an important enterprise; and it would be too bold for us to determine that the zeal and sincerity which they exercised in these religious ceremonies, though they mistook the object, was entirely useless to them, or that it was not approved and rewarded by the searcher of hearts. It seemed to be a dictate of reason, and what reason taught them it teaches us; and our superior advantages enable us to correct their mistakes,—to worship the true God, and confide in him in such a manner as is now known to be his will.

Religion ought never to be made a political machine, but while it is preserved perfectly free from such a prostitution, and is improved to the great designs of its institution, it affords the greatest aid to civil government, and has the most happy effect on society. Where the Gospel has its genuine effect it inspires the soul with the most noble sentiments, restrains every turbulent passion, and induces a propriety of conduct in every situation in life. The sum total is comprehended in *love to God and man.* When these effects are produced, every purpose of civil government is answered, and the sword of justice lies quiet in its scabbard, peace and security to society is obtained. But such is the present state of human nature, and such the designs of Providence, that these desirable effects can not be obtained without religious instruction and improvement. Happy for this settlement that ample provision for such instruction is granted us, without its being burdensome to individuals. This fund it is hoped will be early called forth to so noble a purpose. A mode for the support of public worship so entirely separated from every thing that may rouse selfish principles, or what has been called rights of conscience in granting salaries to religious instructors, it is presumed, will ever preserve us free from that fruitful source of contentions and divisions which have prevailed in many parts of the United States. It gives us the prospect of greater union of sentiments, or at least of that candor and affection which the Gospel breathes, than has been enjoyed in *this* or any other country. Difference of sentiment, however, there doubtless will be; but it is the honor and ornament of a christian, who is made acquainted with the glorious doctrines of the Gospel, and has his mind enlarged with its sublime truths, to exercise candor towards those who may think differently from him. We ought to allow others the same right of private judgment which we assume to ourselves. There has been no particular scheme of religion, but what has been attended with its difficulties. Our present state is imperfect, and we all see through a glass darkly, and contentions about religion which exceed the limits of cool deliberate reasoning, very illy become a disciple of the meek and lowly Jesus. It is far from imitating his example, who discovered great candor and charity towards his disciples while on earth, when their ideas of the Gospel plan were so very obscure as to suppose his kingdom was temporal, and that he was about to erect his throne on earth. There are doubtless persons already here, who may be of different sentiments and of different denominations. As the settlement advances they will enjoy the privilege to which they are clearly entitled, of forming societies of their own persuasion. But in the meantime permit me to entreat you as you regard your own interests, and the common interest of your fellow settlers, not to neglect the worship of the God of Heaven—a duty in which we all agree. Whatever you may hear which does not correspond with your own opinions you are not obliged to receive as truth; perhaps however it may not be amiss to give it a candid examination, if nothing more, it may extend your acquaintance with the principles and faith of others, and you will set an example that may have a most happy effect in our present state.

An early attention to the instruction of youth is of the greatest importance to a new settlement. It will lay the foundations for a well-regulated society. It is the only way to make subjects conform to the laws and regulations of it, from principles of reason and custom rather than from fear of punishment. The great Lycurgus considered the education of youth as the most important object, when he was convinced that good morals, rather than laws and ordinances, must regulate the state. His grand principle was that children belonged to the state rather than to the parents. Those who are concerned in forming new settlements, and every parent that feels a proper regard for his children and the community of which he is a member, will do every thing in his power for promoting the private and public instruction of the children. Institutions for this purpose we hope to see established in this country as early as circumstances will admit, that the rising generation may be taught to remember their Creator, and walk in the paths of virtue and righteousness.

May we all attend to the duties enjoined upon us by our holy religion, in our respective stations in life. We ought to cultivate a reverence for the name and attributes of the great God; a sincere submission to his will in whatever way it is made known to us, and benevolence and affection toward our fellow men.

In our present circumstances we ought to consider ourselves as members of one family, united by the bonds of one common interest. We have the strongest reasons for the steady, uniform practice of every moral and every social duty, as our present happiness and prosperity most essentially depends upon it. Then may we hope for the smiles of Heaven, the blessing and protection of a kind Providence. Then shall we feel the approbation of our own consciences in the sight of God and man. Let us acknowledge God in all our ways, and then will he direct our paths for us. When we have filled up the short period of our earthly existence with duty and usefulness, may we all be received to those regions of bliss in the heavenly world, where sorrow will not be permitted to enter, but uninterrupted happiness reign forever and ever. Amen.

CENTURY DISCOURSE DELIVERED IN HAMILTON, ON THURSDAY, OCTOBER 27, 1814.

[The publication of the following discourse needs apology. After service, on the preceding Sabbath, the congregation were reminded that the next Thursday would close a century from the establishment of the church and society, and it was proposed to notice the day by a religious exercise in the afternoon. A discourse was prepared, merely for the purpose of bringing into view *local* concerns during that period, which would be interesting only to the people to whom it was delivered, and without thought of publication. Afterwards, very unexpectedly, an application was made, represented to be the unanimous desire of the people, that it might be printed. Under existing circumstances, a compliance could not be refused. It is therefore devoutly inscribed to the CHURCH and RELIGIOUS SOCIETY in Hamilton, by their sincere and affectionate servant in the Gospel. THE PASTOR.]

EPHESIANS, iii: 20, 21. Now unto him that is able to do exceeding abundantly above all that we ask or think, according to the power that worketh in us, unto him be glory in the church by Jesus Christ throughout all ages, world without end. Amen.

With this ascription of glory to God the Apostle concludes a most devout and fervent prayer for the church. This epistle was probably written with a view to other churches besides the one at Ephesus, to whom it was addressed. Through the whole of it is a flow of holy affection to his Christian brethren and ardent solicitude for the establishment and prosperity of the church. Being a prisoner at Rome, he could not go, as formerly, to establish churches by his personal preaching and exertions; but his affectionate desire for their prosperity was not abated. Whilst suffering imprisonment in defense of the

Gentile churches, he encourages them to be steadfast in their Christian profession, with an assurance of his constant supplications for them at the throne of grace. "I bow my knees unto the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, of whom the whole family in heaven and earth is named; that he would grant you, according to the riches of his glory, to be strengthened with might, by his spirit in the inner man; that Christ may dwell in your hearts by faith; that ye, being rooted and grounded in love, may be able to comprehend, with all saints, what is the breadth, and length, and depth, and height; and to know the love of Christ, which passeth knowledge, that ye might be filled with all the fullness of God."

These fervent petitions he closes with an expressive and emphatical ascription of glory to God: "Now unto him that is able to do exceeding abundantly above all that we ask or think, according to the power that worketh in us; unto him be glory in the church, by Jesus Christ, throughout all ages, world without end. Amen." What enlarged and exalted expectations may this ascription of adoration and glory to God excite in our minds! What inducement to render praise and glory to him for what he has done for the church! and what encouragement to supplicate his blessing in future time! For he is able to do, not only all that he had been asked, but above all —exceedingly abundantly above all that could be asked, were we to enlarge our desires and multiply our petitions to the utmost. To this God of power and grace unspeakable, the Apostle most earnestly desired that glory, adoration and praise should be continually rendered in the church, by Jesus Christ, throughout all the ages of time, even to the end of the world; and closes this rapturous act of devotion by affixing his solemn Amen.

If we attend to the history of the Christian church, we shall find it replete with signal instances of divine power and goodness, for its protection and preservation. It is founded on a rock, and the gates of hell shall not prevail against it. In every age, under the government of Him who never ceases to watch over its interests, events are taking place which well deserve religious notice; and merciful interpositions to be recognized, which claim the highest ascriptions of praise and glory to God. There are particular periods of time when it may be highly proper to take a retrospective view, and trace back the footsteps of Providence in years past. It may not only gratify an inquisitive and contemplative mind, but excite thankful acknowledgments of distinguished blessings, and lead to serious reflection and useful improvement.

Such, it appears to me, is the present time with regard to the Church and Religious Society in this town. It is, this day, an hundred years since this church was embodied, and a minister ordained to be the pastor.

That we may suitably notice and improve this period of time, it is my intention to make a few general observations with respect to the state of the Christian church within a century past; and then to call your attention, particularly, to a retrospective view of passing events and the state of this church and society, during the hundred years that terminate on this day. Within a century past the church of Christ has not been assailed by open and bloody persecutions, as it had been in preceding ages. It has had, however, to contend with most inveterate enemies—enemies who, by secret artifices, by subtle machinations, and unwearied labors, have attempted to suppress the Christian religion, and banish from the world the Christian name. In no age of the church, since the promulgation of the Gospel, has *infidelity* made such secret progress, and, at length, raised its brazen front with so much boldness and expectation of success. The abettors of atheism, deism and infidelity had made such progress, that they reduced their schemes to system, and gained an alarming influence over the minds of men, especially in the higher ranks of life. Secret infidel societies, holding correspondence with each other, were formed; and to poison the minds, and induce people of all grades and conditions to reject the Bible, immense numbers of infidel books, pamphlets, small tracts, and even ballads and songs, were printed. These were industriously spread among all classes of people in many parts of Christendom. From among these infidels were the principal actors in the late French revolution—a scene highly favorable for propagating their principles.

The standard of infidelity, undisguised, was now triumphantly erected. The Convention decreed that there was no God, and declared the nation to be a nation of infidels. They held that there was no future state of existence—no account to be rendered after this life—and death was only an eternal sleep. All forms of religion were suppressed, and houses of public worship shut up, or appropriated to other uses. The church of St. Genevieve was changed into a *pagan temple*. In this temple, with supercilious parade, they performed their heathen orgies. A common *prostitute*, personating the *Goddess of Reason*, received the worship of both the Convention and the infatuated multitude. So inveterate was the enmity against the very name of Jesus Christ, that he was styled the WRETCH; and these are said to have been watchwords: *Crush the wretch! Banish his name from the face of the earth! Strike, but conceal your hand.*

In the most gloomy seasons the church has often experienced the most signal interpositions. The great Head of the Church has been pleased to look down upon the languishing *vine which his own right hand had planted*, and to save it from the ravages of inveterate foes. While the faith of many was shaken, and believers were *trembling for the ark*, the friends of Zion were awakened to a fervent zeal in vindicating the religion of Jesus. An unusual spirit of inquiry into the divine authority and inspiration of the scriptures was excited. Of that large class of people who take the Bible on trust, without attending either to the external or internal evidences of its authenticity, great numbers became bewildered by the books and company of infidels; but, by candid, unprejudiced examination, found their doubts removed and faith established. Still, whatever may have been the happy effect of their researches (which has been believed by some to have been very great and extensive) the efficient means of counteracting infidel philosophy has been the extensive spread of the holy scriptures. The Bible carries its own evidence with it. Infidelity has been met, not merely with clear reasoning and strength of argument, which sophistry can always evade, but with the formidable weapon of the Bible itself—the Bible *without note or comment.* One of the most distinguishing interpositions of Providence in favor of the church, which, perhaps the world has ever witnessed, has been the establishment of *Bible Societies.* These invaluable benevolent institutions, designed for the purpose of distributing the scriptures, *gratis*, among the poor and destitute every-where, have been encouraged and supported with a zeal which excites astonishment. Emperors, kings and princes have become their patrons; Christians of all denominations, people of all grades and conditions in life, have cheerfully contributed to this noble purpose. As infidels had formed societies, collected funds, printed and distributed books, they have been met in the same way, by the establishment of societies, and collecting immense sums for printing the scriptures in different languages, for the accommodation of Christian and Heathen nations. The parent of these institutions, the *British and Foreign Bible Society*, embraces in its extensive plan every nation upon earth. Already, by its influence and operations, thousands and hundreds of thousands have had the Bible put into their hands. It has astonished, rejoiced and animated the Christian world. While Bible Societies, on a more limited scale, have been multiplying in Europe, the flame has caught in our own country. One, or more, has been established with the same benevolent views, in every State in the Union. These societies intermeddle with no wars but the Christian warfare—contend with no enemies but the enemies of Christ and his church. Amidst the angry conflicts of contending nations, their exertions and their charities are extended, without partiality, to all the human family. Let *the potsherds strive with the potsherds of the earth*, but let the friends of Zion, in faith and hope, look forward, by the light of prophetic scripture, to the approaching reign of the PRINCE OF PEACE. Though the earth be removed, and though the mountains be carried into the midst of the sea, there is a river the streams whereof shall make glad the city of God. The word of the Lord shall have free course, and shall be glorified.

The happy effects of these exertions must extend to future ages. That the Christian religion will be universally known, and its blessings felt in every part of the habitable world, we believe from the Bible; but the way and means by which it is to be accomplished, is beyond our comprehension. Yet the pleasing hope presses into our minds that this glorious day begins to dawn—that the day when all nations shall enjoy the holy scriptures in their own language—and of the ingathering of the Jews, with the fullness of the Gentile world, is drawing near.

While infidelity was so rapidly spreading in Europe, its baneful influence was sensibly felt in our own country. In some parts of the United States its champions were bold and open. A small number of infidel societies were established. Its spread was much apprehended by many pious people, and their fears greatly excited. Yet, without any very apparent means, it pleased God to check its progress. Infidels there still are, and infidels there will be, in the ordinary age of the church; but while we have it to lament that so much irreligion and so many vices have prevailed during the past century, we have likewise cause for gratitude and thankfulness to God that there has been generally in our churches a respectful and serious attention to religion. In many places there have been hopeful revivals and reformations, and in some large ingatherings into the church of Christ. In all our churches there have been some of the wandering sheep of Christ's flock, one after another, gathered into his fold.

Within a century from this time new churches have been greatly multiplied in the United States. Since the establishment of this church there have been about six hundred new churches formed within this Commonwealth, and some of them consist of a very large number of communicants. But I will detain you no longer with general remarks. The principal purpose of our present meeting was to take a concise review of the most material concerns of this religious society, from its establishment to the present time.

So remarkably uniform have been the state and general concerns of this church and society, as far as has come to my knowledge, that there have been few very interesting occurrences for an hundred years. Yet there has been much, in the course of Providence, that may be brought into view, well worthy our attention and religious improvement. The town of Ipswich, on the 22d of May, 1712, voted their consent that "When their brethren in the Hamlet, so called, should have erected a meeting-house and call an orthodox minister to preach the gospel to them, they should be freed from further charge in the maintenance of their ministers, and be accounted a precinct."

On the 14th of October, 1713, an act of incorporation from the General Court was obtained, allowing them to be a distinct and separate precinct. In the course of this year the first meeting-house was built; the dimensions of which were 50 feet in length, 28 in breadth, and 20 feet post. What the number of inhabitants were at this time can not be accurately ascertained, but most probably between seven and eight hundred.

In January, 1714, Mr. Samuel Wigglesworth was invited to preach as a candidate, and on the 12th of October following, a church covenant was agreed to and privately signed. At the same time Mr. Wigglesworth was elected their pastor. On the 27th of the same month an ecclesiastical council was convened, consisting of the Rev. Elders and delegates of the first and second churches in Ipswich, and of the churches in Wenham, Rowley and Topsfield. The church having been regularly embodied by the council, it was styled the third church of Christ in Ipswich. After reading the church covenant publicly to the assembly, the council proceeded to ordain their pastor-elect. The greater part of this newly gathered church were members dismissed and recommended from the first and second churches in Ipswich and the church in Wenham. When formed the number was 58, of whom 26 were males and 32 females.

Their pastor, the Rev. Samuel Wigglesworth, was possessed of very respectable talents—in his sentiments calvinistical—in the strain of his preaching, evangelical, instructive and practical. Solemn and unaffected in his manner, he commanded attention and supported the character of an able and sound divine. Amiable and exemplary, respected and beloved, he filled up a long, peaceable and useful ministry. He departed this life on the 3d of September, 1768, in the 80th year of his age, having almost completed the 54th year of his ministry. His public and parochial labors were continued nearly to the close of his life.

Under his ministration many made public profession of their religion and received admission into the church. Considerable numbers of communicants were added at different times. Very remarkable awakenings and hopeful conversions succeeded the great earthquake in 1727. This memorable earthquake occurred on October 29th (being the Sabbath) a little before 11 in the evening.* Several small shocks were felt for some months after. The next Wednesday was observed as a day of humiliation and prayer; and a solemn, well adapted sermon was preached by Mr. Wigglesworth, and, at the request of the people, was published. In his dedication, dated January 29, he observes that "the awful occasion of this discourse is not yet entirely removed." And he adds, "Since the earthquake there has been a large addition to the church, which I question not but many of them shall be saved. The spirit of reformation seems to be poured out, in plentiful measure, upon all sorts of persons among us; and especially a considerable number of our young persons seem disposed to flee from youthful lusts and vanities, and to flee to Christ and his ordinances as a cloud, and as doves to their windows." On my first coming to this town I recollect to have heard aged people relate, from their own knowledge, many interesting particulars respecting this reformation. They mentioned the solemn and

---

*It is said to have happened about forty minutes after 10 P. M., the air clear, sky serene and perfectly calm. It approached with a a heavy rumbling—at first compared to the roar of a blazing chimney, at last to the rattling of carriages driven fiercely on pavements. It was observed, by those that were abroad, that as the shock passed under them, the surface of the earth sensibly rose up and then sunk down. The violence of the shock was such as to cause the houses to shake and rock, as if they were falling to pieces; doors, windows and movables made a fearful clattering; the pewter and china were thrown from the shelves; stone walls and the tops of some chimneys were shaken down; in some places the doors were unlatched and burst open, and the people in great danger of falling. Its duration was supposed to be about two minutes, and its course from N. W to S. E. It was known to extend to the river Delaware S. W. and to the Kennebeck N. E., but its greatest violence seems to have been at Newbury, where the earth opened and threw up several loads of a fine sand and ashes. Great changes took place in some wells, springs and streams of water.—*Vide Memoirs Amer. Acad.*

deep impression made generally upon the minds of the people, especially on the youth and those in early life—a surprising engagedness in *all* to attend public worship and occasional religious meetings. Considering the large additions to the church in a short time after, we can not doubt that God was pleased to accompany this awakening and alarming providence with special influences of his spirit and grace. By the church records it appears that from the last of November to about the middle of February there were admissions on every Sabbath except on one day. On some Sabbaths the number was exceedingly large for so small a society. On December 10th seven were admitted, on the 24th seventeen, on the next Sabbath eleven; on the following Sabbath there was only one; but on the two next there were four each day; on the next there were eight, and on the next (4th February) there were fifteen. In four months there were eighty-seven, and in somewhat more than a year, one hundred, added to the church.

It is to be much regretted, that my worthy predecessor kept no record (or none to be found) after the year 1742, or beginning of 1743. To serious, reflecting people, it will be desirable to know the number of communicants, baptisms, and deaths for an hundred years, but it can not be accurately ascertained. Were the number of inhabitants, at the time of the incorporation, known, a tolerable calculation could be made by taking average numbers. It has been supposed that the number of people has been nearly stationary. Being mostly farmers, the emigration (consisting principally of young people) and the deaths have equaled the number of births. This appears probable, as the number of inhabitants by the last census (1810) was only 780, and as the number of baptisms seems to have varied very little for sixty or seventy years.

From the time the church was formed to the year 1742 (28 years) there were 326 members admitted, and 631 baptisms. Taking the average number for the following 26 years, there were, during the 54 years of my predecessor's ministry, 560 admitted to communion, and 1,208 baptisms. No record of deaths was found in the church book; but, taking the average of deaths for the 48 years of my ministry for *data*, being nearly 12 annually, the number of deaths in 54 years would be 648. In the interval between Mr. Wigglesworth's death and my ordination (three years) there were two communicants admitted, 75 baptized, and it is presumed 86 deaths. In the last 48 years there have been 122 admitted into the church, 988 baptisms, and 512 deaths. Agreeably to this computation, which can only give a probable idea of the numbers for the 54 years, there have been, by adding the number which first composed the church, 736 communicants, 2,266 baptisms, and 1,196 deaths in the hundred years.

Since the forming of the church, there have been seven officiating deacons. Of the first two elected, one lived to a great age, the other only a few years, but his successor died in old age. The next two in succession lived to an advanced period of life. They were succeeded by the two deacons who still survive.[*]

Agreeably to the preceding computations, one-third more people, in this period of time, have gone down to the silent grave than are now living. Your grand-parents, your fathers, your mothers, your brothers, sisters, friends, and neighbors, where are they? Do they live forever? No; they are gone the way from which they will not return. What an assembly are now sleeping in yonder grave-yard! In a less period of time, every one of us—let it be remembered—every one of us must be added to this assembly.

Attention to these enumerations will convince us that there was more of a sense of religion among the people in the former than in the latter part of this century. Greater additions were made in the church from year to year. In looking over these records, I was surprised at the frequent instances of men and their wives joining the church at the same time. Many young people were admitted, but it seems to have been rare that one of the heads of a family came forward and made a profession of religion without the other. It has not been so in latter times. Few instances have occurred for a number of years past. Was it not that the importance of gospel ordinances were more sensibly felt; that heads of families were more deeply convinced that they could not live religious lives without a profession of religion—a more impressive conviction of the duty of *uniting* in a public dedication of themselves to God in covenant, and setting before their children so desirable an example? Was it not that there was more family religion—family prayer—family instruction? And was there not more of *union* and *joint* resolution, that, as for them and their houses, they would serve the Lord?

---

[*] The first two deacons were Deacon Matthew Whipple and Deacon John Gilbert, chosen Nov. 9, 1714. Deacon Matthew Whipple officiated 50 years, and was succeeded by Deacon Nathaniel Whipple, who officiated 45 years, and deceased at the age of 89. His successor is the present Deacon Benjamin Appleton, who has been in office four years. Deacon Gilbert lived only nine years, and was succeeded by Deacon John Thorn, who continued in office 35 years. His successor was Deacon John Patch, who sustained the office 31 years, and died at 90 years of age. He was succeeded by the present Deacon Matthew Whipple, who has been in office 20 years.

During the time my predecessor kept a record, there were large numbers who recognized the baptismal covenant, and gave up their children to God in baptism. In the first ten years of his ministry, the number of baptisms were from twenty to thirty annually; and continued with little variation to the year 1742; so that there could not have been many children that were not baptized. In the first ten years of my ministry, the annual baptisms were from twenty-four to thirty-five; and so continued, though with more variation in different years, until a few years past. It was considered by pious people thirty years ago to be exceedingly wrong for parents to withhold their children from this ordinance; and often they expressly enjoined it on their children, on their entering into the family state, not to neglect this duty. But, alas! my friends, how is it now? How greatly has this ordinance been disregarded for some years past! In the two last years, the number was only five in each year. How great the number of unbaptized persons now, compared with former years!

Is this to be imputed to our great declination in religion? Is our moral state so much worse than in years past? Are the people become so much more indifferent to gospel ordinances? It is not, I am persuaded, because the *right* of infant baptism is doubted; but from the want of a proper understanding, and just sense of this duty. If infants are the proper subjects, and may be brought within the privileges of the covenant, then it is the indispensable duty of parents, *intelligently* and *uprightly*, to devote them to God in baptism. Our Savior expressly required that children should be *suffered* to be brought to him. "Suffer little children to come to me, and forbid them not; for of such is the kingdom of God." He was much displeased with his disciples for rebuking those that brought them. Christian baptism was not then instituted; yet the *right* and the *duty* of devoting children to God, after it was instituted, may be clearly inferred from these words of our Lord, and he might have intended a reference to it. Those who then brought them to Christ must have done it with desire and expectation of spiritual blessings. And is he not able to do as much for them now as he was then? Were he now on earth, where are the parents that would refuse to carry their children to him? And why not carry them to him now he is in heaven, by a solemn dedication in the ordinance of baptism?

You believe children are the subjects of salvation, and you would tremble at the thought of excluding them from it; and can you exclude them from the *right* of baptism? When they are sick, do you not pray, and desire the prayers of others, for them, that they may recover; or, if removed by death, that their souls may be saved? And yet, can you refuse to give them up to God in this ordinance? If you doubt your own right to give them up in this solemn manner, how can you think of living in such a state of impiety and irreligion? Can you refuse your consent to the terms of the gospel covenant? Have you no regard to the due regulation of your families? Family education and order are important means of grace, and, if suitably maintained, other means will be more likely to be successful. Can you then feel unwilling to lay yourselves under (voluntary) obligations to give your children a religious education, and to bring them up in the nurture and admonition of the Lord?

Not long before the decease of the Rev. Mr. Wigglesworth (in August, 1768), the present Dr. Hopkins, of Salem, was invited to settle as his colleague, but declined the invitation. After his decease, the church continued destitute for three years. The candidates employed appear not to have been many. On the 6th of March, 1769, Mr. David Johnson was invited to settle, who gave a negative answer. On the 8th of January, 1770, Mr. Benjamin Brigham received a call, but did not accept it. On the 16th of October following, Mr. Jonathan Searle was invited to settle, who likewise declined the offer. The last was your present unworthy pastor, who received ordination on the 11th day of September, 1771, and whom God has been pleased to continue in the ministerial office 43 years.

At that time, the communicants of the church were 68, of whom 27 were males and 47 females. Of these communicants only two, a male member and his wife, are now living. Additions in following years were gradual, and less frequent than in the earlier periods of the church. In some years there were a considerable number, and in some there were none. But, in the latter part of 1799 and beginning of 1800, we were favored, as we trust, with manifestations of the powerful influences of the Holy Spirit, in calling up the attention of very considerable numbers. Many were awakened to inquire, with solicitude, what they should do to be saved, and numbers to make a public profession of their faith and hope. It seemed to be a time of refreshing from the presence of the Lord. The greater part were young people, but some in the middle and in advanced periods of life. Admissions into the church were, on several days, in considerable numbers. Before the communion service (24th of November), 15 were admitted; at the next communion, there were 8; the next, 9; and the next, there were 6; at others, there were smaller numbers. But, at four communions in succession, 33 were added to the church. Since about that time, we have relapsed into the former state of coldness and indifference. The ways of Zion have mourned because so few travel therein. At the present time, the church consists of 73 members, of whom 28 are males and 45 females. Of the females, several have removed into other towns, whose relation to the church has not been transferred.

The house, which at first was erected for public worship, having become inconvenient and much decayed, in the year

1762 this commodious house, in which we this day present ourselves before the Lord, was built on nearly the same spot. It is constructed on somewhat larger dimensions, being 60 feet in length, 44 in width, and 26 feet stud; and has been admired for its just proportions and pleasing appearance. Having been lately well repaired, it affords a hopeful prospect of remaining a convenient temple for the worship of the MOST HIGH for many years. Thus God, in his goodness, has been pleased to continue to us the visible tokens of his presence for an hundred years. May he mercifully grant, that in this house his spiritual presence may delight to dwell.

For the greater convenience and advantage in managing their municipal concerns, the people made application to the Legislature, and on the 20th of June, 1793, obtained an act of incorporation, forming them into a town by the name of Hamilton. This separation from the ancient and highly respectable town of Ipswich was a transaction in which the inhabitants of both felt themselves deeply interested. In accomplishing this desirable object, every proceeding of the people was conducted with entire unanimity. Altho' the pecuniary condition appeared to be large, it was promptly and cheerfully paid. And let it also be noticed, with peculiar satisfaction, that the unpleasant feelings excited in the minds of any of our brethren in Ipswich appear to have very happily subsided.

In taking this review of the century which closes with this day, it has been my intention to confine myself principally to the ecclesiastical concerns of this church and religious society. On this cursory retrospection of passing events, many reflections rush upon the mind, which time will not permit me to notice. I must, however, beg your patience while some of them are suggested.

The preservation of this church and society in uninterrupted peace and harmony for an hundred years claims our sincere praise and thanksgiving to God. May our hearts, warmed with gratitude and love, unitedly offer up ascriptions of glory to Him whose watchful care and tender mercy have been extended to this church and people during this period of time.

While many religious societies have been rent by divisions among themselves, and divided and separated by intermeddling sectaries of various descriptions and denominations, this society has been happily preserved from any disturbances of this kind. Under the ministration of my worthy predecessor, the people discovered no disposition to contend on the ground of religious speculations and opinions. His uniform strain of instructive, evangelical and useful preaching united them in sentiment, and guarded them against an itching fondness for novelties. Steady habits were then established, and have happily been transmitted down to the present time.

In the management of civil and municipal concerns great unanimity has very uniformly prevailed. In few, perhaps in no society, has there been less of suits at law, unnecessary litigations, or bitter party contentions. While human nature remains as it is there will be occasional difference of opinions and temporary disagreements; but neighborly kindness, candor and friendship have undoubtedly been strong traits in the character of this society from the beginning.

In confirmation of the prevailing candid and peaceable disposition of the people, I must mention an event which rarely happens. Two ministers have supplied the pulpit for an hundred years, except a short interval between the death of one and the invitation of the other. That their lives should be continued so long is to be wholly ascribed to the sustaining power and mercy of God. But separations too often occur from other causes besides a removal by death. In few societies, I believe, have two ministers lived, and in succession continued their ministerial labors, for a century. It certainly reflects credit on the friendly disposition of the society. For myself I cheerfully embrace this occasion to tender to this Church and Society my sincere thanks for the candor and forbearance you have exercised towards me; and for the many instances and tokens of affection I have received during my ministry.

Since our union in this sacred relation we have seen troublesome times. We have been subjected to many privations and difficulties. I have found myself, at times, in perplexed and trying circumstances. But in no situation has your friendly attention been withdrawn. Marks of kindness and respect, by the donations of a number of individuals, have relieved present wants and claim my grateful acknowledgments.

In frequent reviews of my ministerial labors I find deficiencies enough to humble me to the dust. I have to lament that no more success has attended my feeble exertions. Sure I am that your best, your eternal interests have lain with weight upon my mind. My conscience bears me witness that it has been my earnest prayer, and all my desire, to bring to your view and impress upon your hearts the most essential truths and doctrines of the gospel salvation: to preach to you a *Crucified Savior*, to persuade you to rest on that sure foundation which God has laid in Zion, to exercise that faith by which the just do live, and to follow after that holiness of heart and life without which no man shall see the Lord. Whatever success may have attended these humble endeavors to promote the glory of God, to advance the interests of the Redeemer's kingdom, and your own best good, let it all be ascribed to the riches of free grace and mercy.

The time is at hand when your kindness to me and my labors with you must cease forever. My period of life having arrived to three score years and ten, is enough to teach me that my days upon earth must very shortly be numbered. But I have another monitor placed hourly before me—the distressing disorder with which I have been long exercised,* and which I find increasing upon me, admonishes me that a few hours may close the scene. Many times I have had reason to apprehend only a few breaths more remained. Often under the pressure of this complaint, I have been sustained in the services of the sanctuary to my own astonishment. I think I can say, it is good for me that I have been afflicted. Called so constantly to familiarize my mind with the near views of eternity, it has had a tendency, I trust, to strengthen a faith and hope which removes the fear of the last enemy.

Thus far it has pleased God to lengthen out the span, but nature must fail—the time is near. Although life may be protracted a little longer, I feel that on this occasion I am taking a parting leave of you, my respected and beloved people; that I may with propriety on this day bid you a long, a most endearing and affectionate *Farewell.* The tongue that now speaks shortly will cease to move; the heart that now throbs with affectionate concern for your eternal well-being, will be cold in death, and this worthless body you will deposit in the dust.

---

* The asthma for fourteen years.

I commend you to God and the word of his grace, unto him who is able to do exceeding abundantly above all you can ask or think. When you find yourself destitute of a minister, may the Great Shepherd take you under his gracious protection, and provide for you an able and faithful pastor, who shall feed you with the bread of life, and give to every soul his portion in due season. In all your concerns, seek light and direction from above—cultivate the true spirit of the gospel—and may the God of peace be with you and bless you.

May this church see far more glorious days in the century now begun than in that which is just closed; may great additions be made of those that shall be saved—and may it be favored with the presence of Him who will be glorified in the church throughout all ages, world without end.

I had wished to have been more particular in this part of my address, but the time, so long protracted, forbids. I will only add that, though we must part, we shall meet again; meet on that great day of the Lord, when I must render an account how I preached, and you must give account how you have heard—when the righteous Judge will pass sentence, and award our destiny in the ages of eternity. Solemn meeting! Awful day! O, that we may then meet with joy, and be permitted to inherit the kingdom prepared from the foundations of the world, and to unite with the redeemed in all ages of the church, in ascriptions of blessings, and honor, and glory, and power, unto Him that sitteth upon the throne, and unto the Lamb forever and ever—Amen!

THE END.

INDEX.

Abbot, Mr., i, 99, 111; ii, 339, 343, 345, 348
Abbott, Rev. J. E., ii, 350
Act Granting Lands to Ohio Co., i, 479–481
Adams, Dr., i, 38; ii, 153
Adams, Hon. John, i, 58, 116, 454, 481, 484, 485, 520; ii, 87, 274, 340
Adams, Mrs. John, ii, 484, 485
Adams, Hon. J. Q., ii, 130, 155, 163
Adams, Rev. Mr., i, 42, 46
Adams, Thomas, i, 8, 10, 13, 14, 15
Adelphia, i, 376, 378
Agent of Ohio Co., i, 340, 341, 349
Aiken, Robert, i, 229
Aitken, Mr., i, 149
Alleghany Mountains, i, 404, 427
Alleghany River, i, 357
Allen, Rev. Mr., ii, 336, 342
Allenstown, Pa., i, 397
Alston, Hoh. Willis, ii, 162
American Academy of Arts and Sciences, i, 83, 85, 86, 87, 89, 91, 93, 95, 96, 113, 116, 117, 385, 437, 449; ii, 34, 109, 228, 267–271, 289, 300, 354, 355
American Empire, i, 168, 339, 365; ii, 443, 445
Ames, Fisher, i, 8, 135, 358, 450, 454, 461
Ames, Dr. N., i, 8, 9, 12, 14
Ames, Dr. Seth, i, 8, 12, 14
Ancient Works, i, 410, 412, 418 n, 419, 436, 437, 464; ii, 9, 14, 17, 248, 249, 252–254
Andrews, Asa, ii, 40, 111
Andrews, Dr. I. W., i, 203 n
Anderson, Hon. Mr., ii, 48
Anderson, Rev. Mr., ii, 343, 348
Animal Magnetism, ii, 229
Appleton, Dr. N. W., i, 114
Appleton, Mr., i, 33, 38; ii, 350, 459
Armstrong, Gen., i, 250, 251
Arnold, Gen. B., i, 52, 250
Arnold, Welcome, i, 385
Articles of Agreement, Ohio Co., i, 184–186
Articles of Association, Ohio Co., i, 181–184, 187

Ashley, Major M., i, 160, 175, 333
Astronomical Observations, i, 7, 10, 11, 12, 14, 20, 75, 79, 83, 84, 85, 90, 92, 95, 461, 466; ii, 238, 239, 335
Assumption Bill, i, 457, 458, 459, 460, 462, 463
Atkins, Rev. E., i, 115, 207, 318, 432
Atkinson, Mr., i, 323, 325, 326, 431
Aurora Borealis, i, 21, 39; ii, 198–209
Austin, Rev. Mr., i, 456; ii, 59
Avery, John, i, 60

Bacon, Hon. John, ii, 65
Bacon, Rev. Mr., i, 42, 324
Backus, Elijah, ii, 32
Backus, James, i, 511, 518
Bailey, Hon. T., ii, 107
Baker, Capt., i, 52
Balch, Madam, i, 49, 88
Balch, Misses, i, 9, 18, 35, 44, 56 n, 57
Balch, Mr., of Bradford, i, 26
Balch, Rev. B., i, 8, 19 n, 28, 33, 35, 43, 44, 47, 48, 49, 51, 52, 53, 55, 56, 58, 61, 63, 65; ii, 225
Balch, Rev. T., i, 10, 14, 17 n, 18, 21, 23, 24, 26, 28, 30, 33, 34, 35, 40, 44, 45
Balch, T., Jr., i, 87, 88
Balch, Rev. Mr., of Georgetown, ii, 60, 104, 105, 112, 117, 150, 155
Baldwin, Col., i, 96
Baldwin, Hon. A., i, 477, 482 n; ii, 48
Baldwin, Hon. Sam., i, 229
Ball, Wm., i, 229
Bancroft, Capt., ii, 42, 309, 310
Barker, Col. J., i, 416 n
Barlow, Joel, i, 327 n, 381, 498 n, 499, 500, 501, 503, 504, 505, 506, 508, 509, 512, 514, 515, 516, 517 n, 518; ii, 330
Barnard, Rev. Dr., i, 36, 37, 40, 46, 78, 86, 116, 467; ii, 5, 39, 42, 340, 342, 345, 348, 349
Barnes' Tavern, i, 228, 242, 292, 305, 309
Barond, M., i, 499
Bartlett, Capt. W., i, 405, 406
Bartlett, Mr., i, 96; ii, 348
Barton, Prof. B. S., ii, 287 n, 289, 325
Bartram, Wm., i, 258 n, 272, 273, 274
Barrel, Jos., i, 465, 467
Basset, Benj., i, 116
Bates, Mr., ii, 110
Battelle, Col. E., i, 8, 12, 14, 417 n, 418
Bayard, Hon. J. A., ii, 48, 76, 78 n, 79, 80, 81, 86, 90, 91, 101, 103, 132

Beach, Rev. Dr., i, 235, 326, 456
Bean, Rev. Mr., i, 24
Beckley, Mr., ii, 48
Bedford, Hon. G., i, 337
Bedford, Pa., i, 403
Beecher, Rev. Dr. Lyman, ii, 354
Belknap, Rev. Dr., i, 97 n, 109, 117, 201, 203, 256, 332, 385, 386, 467; ii, 130, 220–257, 288, 290
Benson, Hon. Egbert, i, 229, 477, 482, 483 n
Bentley, Rev. Mr., i, 385; ii, 178
Bergentown, i, 242, 243
Berry, Capt. Jacob, ii, 39, 42, 344, 366 n
Bethlehem, Pa., i, 397
Bible Society, ii, 320, 343, 345, 352, 361
Bidwell, Hon. B., ii, 326, 327
Bingham's Tavern, i, 208
Bingham, Hon. Wm., i, 294, 301 n, 302
Binney, Dr. B., i, 2, 29
Bishop, Hon. Phanuel, ii, 112
Blanchard, Sam., ii, 36, 38, 39, 110, 340, 341, 342
Blanchard, T. D., i, 228
Bly, Mr., i, 89
Bond, Gen., ii, 71
Boston Massacre, i, 21, 22
Botanical Matters, i, 77, 80–83, 95, 110, 115, 116, 220, 257, 273, 291; ii, 39, 145, 237, 260, 261, 262–267, 275, 276, 280, 282, 284–286, 288–293, 295, 297, 304
Boudinot, Elias, i, 336
Bourogne, M., i, 503, 506, 513, 515
Bounties in Land, i, 122, 145
Bowditch, Dr. N., i, 110, 111, 117
Bowdoin, Gov. J., i, 89, 91, 93 n, 95, 113, 116, 200, 201, 203, 234 n, 385, 465
Bowen, Gov., i, 205, 324, 467
Bowler, Mr., i, 68
Bowman, Mr., i, 92
Boyden, Miss, i, 14
Boyle, Hon. John, ii, 155
Brackett's Tavern, i, 191, 220, 328, 449
Bradford, Mr., i, 91
Bradley, Gen. S. R., ii, 74, 151
Bramen, Rev. Mr., ii, 335, 352
Breckenridge, Hon. Mr., ii, 75
British Government Land Sales, i, 128
Bristol, i, 250, 251
Brookline, L. I., i, 295
Brooks, Col. J., i, 180

Brown, Capt. M., i, 44, 51, 60, 62, 65, 67, 75, 80, 118, 344
Brown, Dr. B. F., ii, 362, 363
Brown, John, i, 63
Brown, Joseph, i, 207
Brown, Mr., ii, 77
Brown, Prof., i, 115
Brown, Rev. Aaron, i, 5, 6, 16, 17, 33, 34, 35
Browning, T., i, 66, 68
Brownstonburges, Duchess of, i, 47
Buckingham, Judge, i, 221, 311, 312
Buckminster, Rev. Dr., ii, 339
Bull, Jona., i, 15, 210, 314
Bunch of Grapes, i, 180, 319, 467
Bunker's Hill, Battle of, i, 50
Butler, Gen. Wm., ii, 164, 181
Butler, Gen. R., i, 359, 420 n
Bureau, M., i, 502
Burgoyne, Gen., i, 63, 64, 282
Burley, Mr., i, 465
Burnham, Mr., i, 111
Burnham, Major J., i, 456 n; ii, 39
Burnham, Major T., ii, 49 n, 153, 154, 155, 170
Burnet, Judge J., i, 155
Burr, Aaron, i, 522; ii, 44, 48, 59, 163, 165, 166, 175, 193

Cabot, Andrew, i, 76, 77, 80
Cabot, Geo., i, 64, 75, 80, 89, 91, 485, 522 n
Campbell, Rev. Mr., ii, 118
Campus Martius, i, 344, 411, 413, 417
Caner, Parson, i, 9
Carlisle, Pa., i, 401, 428
Carmick, Capt., ii, 150
Carnes, John, i, 203
Carnes, Rev. Mr., i, 91
Carrington, Col., i, 229, 230 n, 293, 304, 371; ii, 417–419
Carrington, Dr., i, 221
Carroll, Hon. D., i, 337
Carrying Places, i, 358
Cary, Mr., i, 29
Cat Island Hospital, i, 43 n, 44
Castiglioni, Count, i, 115, 191; ii, 232, 247, 295 n, 260, 361
Cemeteries at Marietta, i, 415, 416 n
Certificates, Final Settlement, i, 120
Chadbourne, Hon. Benj., i, 59
Chadwick, Dea., i, 26
Chais, Jean Antoine, i, 500, 502, 503, 505

Chamberlain, Mr., i, 491
Chamberlin, Hon. W., ii, 171
Champney, Rev. J., i, 40, 74 n
Chandler, Rev. Mr., i, 29, 38, 40, 46, 54
Channing, Miss, i, 219, 314
Chase, Hon. Jeremiah, i, 338, 347, 353, 362; ii, 407, 411
Chase, Judge S., ii, 152, 157, 162, 165, 167, 178, 182, 183, 189, 191
Chauncy, Dr., i, 23, 56
Cheever, Mr. Ira, ii, 363
Chickering, Rev. Jabez, i, 55, 56 n, 78, 86, 87, 204, 318, 385, 417, 433; ii, 109
Chipman, Rev. Mr., i, 40, 48
Chittenden, Hon. M., ii, 171
Choat, Hon. Stephen, i, 466, 490; ii, 348
Chubbock, Capt. i, 111
Cilly, Dr., ii, 39
Cincinnati, Soc. of, i, 174, 294
Claggett, Hon. C., ii, 136, 171
Clairborne, Gov., ii. 148, 160, 165
Clarke, Hon. Abraham, i, 294
Clark, Col. Caleb, i, 15, 115
Clark, Esq., i, 208
Clark, Rev. Mr., i, 86
Clark, Zebediah, i, 18
Clarkson, Dr. G., i, 229, 256 n, 259, 271, 272, 273, 279, 283, 430; ii, 233
Cleaveland, Capt., i, 91
Cleaveland, Dr. N., i, 385; ii, 352
Cleaveland, Rev. John, i, 37, 38, 40, 51, 54, 56, 79 n, 80, 83, 92, 94; ii, 136, 149, 364
Clinton, De Witt, ii, 107
Clymer, Hon. George, i, 129
Cobb, Col., i, 75, 489; ii, 340
Coburn, Major Asa, i, 405 n, 405, 407, 409
Cochran, Peter, ii, 36
Codman, Rev. Mr., ii, 41, 354
Coffin, Peter, i, 55, 85
Coffin, Rev. Mr., ii, 150, 153
Coggswell, Jonathan, i, 490
Coke, Bishop, ii, 155
Colony Proposed by Washington, i, 140, 141
Commencement at Cambridge, i, 24, 39, 86, 91, 95, 490
Committee of Am. Acad. A. & S. on Agriculture, ii, 354, 355
Compact Settlements, i, 129, 131, 132
Confederation, Articles of, i, 356, 360
Congress, Continental, i, 49, 51, 58, 121, 124, 127, 131, 132, 134, 135, 138, 145, 148, 152, 159, 335, 341, 342

Congressional Policy, i, 340, 341
Congress, Provincial, i, 49, 50, 51, 52
Connecticut, i, 337, 343
Conventions (Church), i, 39, 41, 42, 61, 78; ii, 109
Cooper, Dr., i, 45, 47, 56, 58, 296
Copp, Capt. David, i, 97
Coquelon, Chevalier de, i, 499
Coquet, M., i, 514, 515
Cornelius, Rev. Elias, ii, 354
Cornplanter, i, 421 n, 487
Cortland, Col. P., i, 154
Craigie, Andrew, i, 498 n, 509, 513, 520, 521
Cram, Col. John, i, 154
Cranch, Judge, i, 116; ii, 104
Crane, Benj., i, 11
Crary, Col. A., i, 410, 439, 441
Crosby, Dr. Eben, i, 229, 231, 239
Crowell, Rev. Mr., ii, 348
Crowninshield, Capt., ii, 308 n, 309, 326
Cummings, Capt., i, 39, 434
Cummings, Lt.-Col. J., i, 154
Cushing, Col. Nath., i, 406 n, 414, 415
Cushing, Justice, i, 38
Cushing, Sam., i, 426
Cushing, Thomas, i, 180
Cushing, Thomas C., ii, 175, 177 n, 347, 350
Cutler, Charles, i, 491; ii, 111
Cutler, Ephraim, i, 133, 142, 318, 343, 344, 433 n; ii, 106, 107, 169, 317-323, 368
Cutler, Genealogy, i, 1-4
Cutler, Hezekiah, i, 3, 4, 5, 33, 35, 207
Cutler, Jervis, i, 328 n, 329, 376; ii, 319, 320
Cutler, Mrs. Mary (Balch), ii, 351, 358
Cutler, Temple, i, 89, 329 n, 343; ii, 84, 185, 186, 196, 368
Cutler, Uriah, i, 3, 289, 290
Cutts, Richard, ii, 134
Cuyahoga, i, 357, 359

Dabney, Mrs., i, 76
Dallas, Mr., ii, 75
Dalton, Hon. Tristram, i, 41; ii, 112
Dalrymple, Col. i, 26
Damon, Rev., i, 28
Dana, F. M., 60
Dana, Judge, i, 488; ii, 37, 252
Dana, Hon. S. W., ii, 90, 93 n, 113, 117, 168, 182, 188, 189

Dana, Rev. Daniel, ii, 339, 343, 352
Dana, Rev. Dr. J., i, 31, 36, 37, 38, 41, 42, 52, 54, 56, 61, 78, 79, 80, 83, 91; ii, 5, 46 n, 54, 74, 75, 100, 111, 147, 164, 191, 351, 352
Dane, Hon. Nathan, i, 148, 193 n, 194, 195, 230, 234, 294, 296, 327, 338, 343, 350, 351, 371, 382; ii, 251, 255, 412, 413, 417, 418
Danielson, Sam'l, i, 115
Dartmouth, Earl of, i, 128, 335
Dark Day, i, 77, 78
Davenport, Hon. John, ii, 52 n, 55, 67, 107, 113, 117
Davis, Dan'l, i, 60
Davis, Dea., i, 22
Davis, Dr., i, 73
Davis, Hon. John, ii, 305 n
Davis, Hon. T. T., ii, 48, 77, 103 n, 105
Dawes, Mr., i, 234, 235; ii, 312
Dawson, Hon. John, ii, 168, 188
Dayton, Gen. Jonathan, ii, 72 n, 74
Dean, Capt. Nath., i, 10, 18, 35, 55
Dean, Jonathan, i, 8, 10, 11, 12, 18, 24, 33, 35, 53, 55, 318, 433
Deane, Rev. Sam'l, i, 386, 388 n; ii, 293, 294
De Barth, Count, i, 502 n, 503, 505, 512, 514, 517, 518
De Hebecourt, M., i, 502 n, 521
Delafield, Mr., i, 431
Delaware River, i, 357
De Mairan, Prof., ii, 199
Denison, Capt., ii, 110
Dennis, Hon. John, ii, 76, 113
Derby, E. H., i, 89, 117
Derby, E. Hersey, ii, 342 n, 343
Derby, Hasket, ii, 42, 347
Devol, Capt. J., i, 416 n; ii, 32
Dexter, Dr., i, 115, 117, 203, 465; ii, 109, 232
Dexter, Hon. Sam'l, i, 33; ii, 246 n
Dickson, Hon. W., ii, 69, 181
Dike, Col., i, 58
Director's Memorial, i, 471–477
Dixey, Capt., i, 93
Dobson, Capt., i, 80
Dodge, Capt., i, 442, 447
Dodge, Col. R., i, 38, 43, 44, 47, 59, 69 n, 94, 489, 490; ii, 109, 336, 340, 362
Dodge, Francis, ii, 61, 104, 112, 182, 366 n
Dodge, Hon. Allen, i, 7; ii, 118, 339, 362
Dodge, Jonathan, i, 110, 111
Dodge, Parker, i, 43
Dodge, Paul, i, 36, 40

Dodge, William, i, 91; ii, 108
Donation Lands, i, 520, 523
Doolittle, Col., i, 53
Doughty, Maj. John, i, 412 n
Dow, Rev. Mr., ii, 39, 339
Draper, Mr., i, 22
Duane, Hon. James, i, 129, 132, 337
Duane (printer), ii, 61, 70, 170
Duer, Col. Wm., i, 229, 240 n, 241, 293, 294, 295, 297, 299, 301, 302, 326, 431, 454, 457, 494, 495, 496, 498, 501, 506, 507, 508, 509, 510, 511, 512, 515, 520, 521, 524
Duer, Lady Kitty, i, 240, 241 n
Dummer's School, i, 29, 61, 86
Dunbar, Rev. Mr., i, 39, 45, 46, 47
Dunsmore, Earl of, i, 335
Duponceau, P. S., i, 521 n, 523
Duportail, Gen., i, 503 n, 515
Durkee, Maj., i, 16
Dutch, Rev. Mr., ii, 335
Duvalette, Gen., i, 503, 514, 515
Dwight, Hon. T., ii, 149
Dyer, Hon. E., i, 129

Eastman, Abiather, i, 111
Easton, Pa., i, 397
Eaton, N. H., i, 99
Eaton, Rev. Mr., ii, 336
Early, Hon. Peter, ii, 327
Earthquakes, i, 10, 41; ii, 349, 457 n
Edmunds, Capt., i, 87, 88
Education Society, ii, 352
Election, General, i, 15, 23, 38, 61, 86, 95, 113, 457, 466
Eliot, Dr. John, i, 47, 57, 62, 86, 115; ii, 261, 247
Elizabethtown, N. J., i, 243, 431
Ellery, Hon. Christopher, ii, 107, 108, 121, 410, 411
Elliot, Hon. James, ii, 151, 187
Ellis, Dea., i, 12, 13
Ellis River, i, 100
Ellsworth, Hon. Oliver, i, 337, 362
Elmendorf, Hon. Lucas, ii, 101, 107
Elwell, Capt., ii, 111
Emerson, Rev. John, i, 36, 39, 46
Emerson, Rev. Mr., ii, 36, 348, 351, 352
Emory, Mr., i, 204
Eppes, Mrs., ii, 113, 116
Erving, Gen., i, 327

Eustis, Dr. Wm., ii, 65, 91 n, 94, 108, 151
Eustis, Surgeon W., i, 154
Evacuation of Boston, i, 54
Evans, Capt., i, 100
Everett, i, 11, 18, 33, 40
Everett, Asa, i, 11, 18, 44
Everett, Capt. Ebenezer, i, 18, 33, 56, 458 n
Everett, Rev. Moses, i, 35, 40, 47 n, 52, 53, 55, 57, 58, 63, 86, 116
Everett, Rev. Oliver, i, 86, 458 n, 460, 461, 465; ii, 41
Ewing, Hon. Thomas, ii, 33
Ewing, Rev. Dr. John, i, 229, 230, 231, 232 n, 236, 263
Expedition of Gen. Sullivan to R. I., i, 65–71

Fairfield, Conn., i, 222, 223
Faneuil Hall, i, 23, 61, 78, 117, 466, 489; ii, 37
Fasts, i, 30, 38, 41, 45, 46, 49, 51, 54, 55, 56, 60, 61, 63, 74, 75, 77, 79, 83, 85, 90, 91, 96; ii, 36, 109, 344, 345, 352
Faulkner, Dr., ii, 351
Fearing, Hon. Paul, ii, 48 n
Federal Union, i, 121
Few, Hon. Wm., i, 294, 301 n, 302, 303, 304
Findley, Hon. W., i, 477, 482 n; ii, 327
Finley, Rev. Mr., i, 406
Fisher, Dr. Joshua, i, 8, 87, 90, 96 n, 109, 117; ii, 230
Fisher, Jabez, i, 59
Fisher, Nathaniel, i, 8, 12, 13, 18, 86
Fisk, Rev. Mr., i, 17
Fisk, Rev. Pliny, ii, 353 n
Fitch, Elijah, i, 23, 87, 217
Flagg, Col., i, 327
Flint, Royal, i, 326, 333, 381, 497, 498, 509, 510, 513, 520, 521
Forbes, Rev. Eli, i, 55, 62, 63, 72, 84 n, 95, 117, 201, 385; ii, 5, 39, 111
Forfeited shares, i, 508, 510, 520, 521
Foster, Judge, i, 38; ii, 52, 59, 71, 103, 105, 107, 117, 130, 151
Foster, Peregrine, i, 354
Foster, Rev. Mr., i, 63, 71, 72
Foster, Senator, ii, 107
Francis, Col. Ebenezer, i, 50, 56, 57, 59, 60, 62
Franklin, Dr. Benja.; i, 217 n, 229, 257, 267–270, 312; ii, 234, 282, 363
Franks, Col., i, 250, 351, 512
Fraser, Mr., i, 28
Free Brother's Club, i, 12, 13, 14, 15
Freeman, Gen., i, 116
French Grant, i, 523
Frisbie, Rev. Levi, i, 54, 56, 61, 75, 79, 80, 83, 91, 92 n, 94; ii, 34, 39, 40, 334, 335

Frontiers of Va. and Pa., i, 121
Frothingham, Rev. Mr., ii, 348, 351
Fuller, Rev. Daniel, 64, 90, 92, 95, 117; ii, 39, 349

Gallipolis, i, 517 n, 519, 520, 521, 523
Gannet, Prof. Caleb, i, 79, 87, 93, 96, 216 n, 488
Gault, Rev. Dr., ii, 72, 104, 113
Gardoqui, Don, Diego de, i, 300
Gardner, Samuel, i, 91
Gardner, Sam'l P., i, 10, 111; ii, 37, 110
Gay, Mr., i, 10, 323
Genet, M., ii, 279
Gennison, Dr., i, 22
Gerry, Hon. Elbridge, i, 43, 79, 254, 255 n, 337, 339, 363, 455, 458, 461; ii, 98, 99, 340
Gerry, Mrs., i, 255
Gerrish, Col., i, 33
Gervais, M., i, 521, 523
Gibbs, Mr., i, 324; ii, 341
Giddings, Joshua, i, 489, 490; ii, 40, 340, 343
Gilchrist, Mr., i, 44
Giles, Maj. W. B., i, 296, 327; ii, 69, 77 n, 86, 90, 92, 94, 101
Gillespie, Hon. James, ii, 181
Gilman, Hon. John T., i, 129
Glendy, Rev. John, ii, 173 n
Glinney's Tavern, i, 221
Glover, Col. John, i, 64, 67, 93
Goddard, Hon. Calvin, ii, 55, 107, 117
Godfrey, Capt., i, 323, 325
Goodale, Maj. N., i, 408 n, 412; ii, 32
Goodhue, Capt., i, 27; ii, 36
Goodhue, Hon. Benja., i, 454, 461, 484; ii, 41
Gore, Gov., ii, 340
Gorham, Hon. Nath., i, 254, 284, 337, 459; ii, 413
Government, British, i, 335
Governments, i, 335, 339
Grafton, Mr., i, 89, 117, 385
Grand Committee, i, 129
Granger, Hon. Gideon, ii, 156, 182, 187
Grant, Capt., i, 91
Gray, Hon. Edwin, ii, 99
Gray's Inn, i, 274–278; ii, 144
Grayson, Col. Wm., i, 125, 127, 229, 293 n, 298, 327, 368
Graves, i, 323, 325
Greaton, Gen. J., i, 154, 160
Greene, Griffin, i, 441 n, 445, 521

Gregg, Hon. Andrew, ii, 103
Griffin, Dr., ii, 341
Griffin, Mr., i, 326
Griswold, Hon. Roger, ii, 48, 67, 69, 83 n, 85, 86, 90, 99, 101, 105, 107, 120, 132, 165, 167, 191
Grosvenor, Col. Thomas, i, 115
Guibert, M., i, 499
Guild, Benj., i, 96, 116, 203; ii, 247, 355
Guion, Capt. J., i, 513 n, 517
Guion's Tavern, i, 226
Gun, Mr., ii, 39
Gouy de Arsy, M., i, 499
Guyersuter, i, 415

Hale, Rev. Mr., i, 41, 46; ii, 342
Hall, Rev. Mr., i, 22
Hamilton, Gen. Alex., i, 254, 241 n, 272, 362, 508, 509
Hamilton, Mr., ii, 135, 144–146
Hammond, Capt., i, 293, 295, 454
Hancock, Gov. John, i, 59, 67, 70, 201, 465
Haradan, Mr., i, 200, 384
Hargrove, Rev. Mr., ii, 114
Harmar, Gen. Josiah, i, 411 n, 417
Harper, Mr., ii, 182, 184
Harris, Mr., i, 384, 385
Harrisburg, Pa., i, 400, 428
Harrison, Gov. B., i, 134, 145, 359, 356
Hart, Dr. J., ii, 2
Hartford, Conn., i, 210
Hartwell, Mr., i, 75
Hastings, Hon. Seth, ii, 71, 93, 107, 108, 110, 117
Haven, Mr., i, 97, 110
Haven, Rev. Jason, i, 10, 14, 30, 33, 35, 47
Haviland's, Mrs., i, 225, 431
Hawkins, Hon. Benja, i, 337
Hazard, Hon. Eben, i, 229, 231, 236 n, 239, 296, 306, 454; ii, 130 n, 228, 230, 237
Hazen, Gen. Moses, i, 154
Heard, Mr., i, 96, 490; ii, 230, 235
Heart, Capt. J., i, 414
Heckewelder, Rev. John, i, 354
Heister, Gen. Dan., ii, 169
Hell Gate, i, 325
Hemphill, Hon. Joseph, ii, 77
Henderson, Hon. A., ii, 76, 84
Henderson, Hugh, i, 228, 229, 297 n, 305, 326, 454

Henry, Hon. John, i, 338; ii, 413
Hermelin, Baron Sam'l Gustavus, ii, 287, 297, 305
Herrick, Mr., i, 57, 60, 75, 90
Hichborn, Col., i, 67; ii, 108
Hichborn, Mr., i, 201, 384; ii, 39, 109, 110, 340, 341
Hicks, Judge, i, 116
Higginson, Mrs., i, 90
Hildreth, Dr. S. P., i, 203 n; ii, 18
Hill, Hon. W. H., ii, 66, 93, 103
Hillegas, Mr., i, 293, 299
Hiller, Maj., i, 86
Hillhouse, Hon. James, ii, 52, 55, 56, 59, 67, 68, 71, 116, 147, 155, 316
Hilliard, Mr., i, 78
Historical Society, ii, 257, 258, 300, 305 n, 340
Hitchcock, Rev. E., i, 30, 40, 44, 46, 49, 50, 53, 54, 61, 64, 204, 205, 323 n, 384; ii, 39
Hocking, i, 340, 357; ii, 33
Hodgdon, Mr., i, 149, 156
Holden, Dr., i, 47, 48
Holland, Hon. James, ii, 103
Hollis, Mr., i, 111
Holmes, Rev. Abiel, i, 217 n, 489
Holt, Rev. Mr., i, 39, 96, 385
Holton, Dr. Samuel, i, 59, 230, 234, 238 n, 294, 302, 373, 385
Holyoke, Dr., i, 74, 86, 93, 94; ii, 206, 236, 342
Holyoke, Madam, i, 35, 45
Holyoke, Rev. Mr., i, 27, 46, 48, 79, 80
Homans, Capt., i, 80
Hopkins, Rev. Dr., ii, 340, 348, 461
Hopkinson, Mr., ii, 184, 192
Horse Races, ii, 141 n, 142, 143, 172
Hough, Col. David, ii, 136, 171, 181
Howard, Rev. Dr. Simeon, i, 39, 78, 201; ii, 37, 355
Howe, Rev. Joseph, i, 5, 6, 15, 17, 42, 56
Howell, Hon. David, i, 129, 347, 353, 363; ii, 407, 410
Hubbard, Dudley, i, 465
Hubbard, Rev. Mr., i, 93, 96, 385; ii, 40
Hubert, M. Peter, i, 421
Hudson River, i, 357
Huger, Hon. Benj., ii, 167, 181, 188
Huger, Hon. D., i, 484 n
Hull, Gen. William, i, 186; ii, 108, 318
Humphreys, Col., i, 358
Hunter, Hon. Narsworthy, ii, 95, 98, 99, 104
Huntington, Countess of, i, 125, 141
Huntington, Gen. J., i, 149, 154, 165

Huntington, Lt.-Col. E., i, 154, 166
Huntington, Rev. Mr., i, 215; ii, 335
Hutchins, Capt. Thos., i, 149, 230 n, 236, 238, 263, 499; ii, 393
Hutchinson, Gov., i, 26

Illinois Land Co., i, 337
Impeachment of Judge Chase, ii, 152, 157, 167, 178, 180, 182, 191, 192, 193
Indents, i, 510 n
Indians, i, 340, 354, 355, 375, 389, 412, 413, 415, 417, 420, 421 n, 447, 518, 520, 521
Indiana Land Co., i, 337
Indian Queen, Tavern, i, 252, 253, 284, 430
Ingolson, Capt., i, 113; ii, 335
Ipswich Social Library, i, 466, 467
Irvine, Hon. William, i, 229
Irving, Maj., i, 200

Jackson, Col., i, 57, 67, 75
Jackson, Dr. Hall, i, 43
Jackson, Hon. John G., ii, 186 n
Jackson, Hon. Jonathan, i, 129; ii, 48, 355
Jackson, Mr., i, 30, 48, 78
James River, i, 358
Jefferson, Thomas, i, 292 n, 334, 338, 347, 348, 359, 503; ii, 44, 56, 98, 110, 119, 163, 172, 407, 411
Jenifer, Daniel, of St. John, i, 337
Jerauld, Dr., i, 12, 14
Jewett, Esq., i, 42, 54
Jewett, Rev. Mr., i, 29, 33, 38, 46; ii, 348, 351
Johnson, Dr. Samuel, i, 240
Johnson, Hon. Wm. S., i, 338; ii, 412, 413
Johnson, Sir W., i, 335
Johonet, Mr., ii, 39
Jones, Mrs. Coffin, i, 204
Journey of Dr. Cutler to N. Y. and Phil., 1787, to purchase land. Ipswich to Providence, i, 203–205; steam engine, 205–207; to Middletown, 207–214; Gen. Parsons, 215; to New Haven, 216; Dr. Stiles, 217–221; to New York, 221–228; list of letters, 228, 229; application to Congress, 230; Gen. Knox, Dr. Ewing, Sir John Temple, Dr. Witherspoon, Dr. Rogers, 231–237; Mr. Hutchins, 236, 238; Congress Chamber, 237, 238; Columbia College, 239; Col. Duer, 240–241; from New York to Princeton, 242–244; Col. Morgan, 245, 246; Princeton College, 247; to Philadelphia, 248–252; Continental Convention, 254; Mr. Strong, Mr. Gerry, Dr. Clarkson, Dr. Rush, 255–257; Peale's Museum, 259–262; State House, Mall, University,

262–264; Dr. Franklin, 257–270; Market, 271, 272; Mr. Bartram, 272–274; Gray's Tavern, 274–278; Hospital, 279–281; Carpenter's Hall, 281–283; Philadelphia described, 284–285; to Morristown, 286–288; Uriah Cutler, 289–290; Mons. Mechard, 291; Negotiations with Congress, 292–305; New York City described, 306–309; to Ipswich, 309–318
Journey of Dr. Cutler to New York to complete contract, i, 323–327
Journey of Dr. Cutler to Muskingum; from Ipswich, 391, to Litchfield, Conn., 392; to Fishkill, N. Y., 394; to Easton, Pa., 397; to Reading, 398; to Lebanon, 399; to Harrisburg, 400; to Carlisle, 401; to Bedford, 403; to Sumrell's Ferry, 405; to Coxe's Fort, 408; to Muskingum, 411; preaches at Campus Martius, 413; funeral of child, 415; opening of court, 417; ancient works, 418, 419 n; up the Ohio to Coxe's Fort, 421–425; to Fort Ligonier, 426, over Chesnut, Alleghany, aud Tuscarora Mts. to Carlisle, 428; to Lancaster, 429; to Philadelphia, 430; to New York, 431; to Killingly, 432; to Ipswich, 433
Judiciary Bill, ii, 62, 64, 71, 74, 75–83, 84, 85, 86, 89–93

Kanhawa, i, 357
Kean, Hon. John, i, 371; ii, 412, 417, 418
Kearney, Hon. Dyre, i, 294, 301, 302, 303, 304
Kelly, Rev. Mr., ii, 37
Kendall, Maj. Ephraim, i, 391, 400, 407
Kendall, Mr., i, 84
Kentucky, i, 128, 134, 365, 366
Key, Judge, ii, 184, 192
Killum, Dr., i, 113
Kimball, Mr., i, 44, 57; ii, 110
Kimball, Rev. D. T., ii, 335, 336 n, 339, 348, 352
Kimbal, Widow, i, 209
King, Capt. Zebulon, i, 164, 447, 448
King, Capt., ii, 344
King, Hon. Rufus, i, 126, 350, 351, 353, 358, 371; ii, 138, 411, 412, 413, 418, 419, 427
King, Mr., ii, 50, 51, 112, 132, 171
King, Mrs., ii, 51, 52, 132
King, Miss Anna, ii, 51, 52, 60, 132
Kingsbury, Rev. Sam'l, i, 20, 28
Kingsley, Prof. J. L., i, 6
Kirkland, Pres., ii, 350
Kittredge, Dr. Thomas, i, 74; ii, 40, 43 n
Knox, Gen. Henry, i, 154, 166, 176, 229, 230 n, 294, 300, 326, 454, 485, 487
Knox, Mrs., i, 231 n, 488
Klein, Dr. J. G., ii, 304

La Fayette, Marquis de, i, 67, 69, 487; 503 n; ii, 361
Lake Erie, i, 357, 359
Lakeman, Dr., ii, 35, 37, 39, 335
Lamson, Jonathan, i, 489, 490
Lancaster, Mr., i, 36, 40, 42
Lancaster, Pa., i, 429
Land Companies, i, 337
Langdon, Dr. Sam'l., i, 50, 79; ii, 202
Large Trees, i, 413 n, 414, 418, 419
Larned, Dea. E., i, 6, 17
Lathrop, Rev. Dr. John, i, 57, 77, 78; ii, 34
Laughton, Peleg, i, 68
Laurens, Hon. Henry, i, 143
Laurel Mt., i, 405, 426
Laurie, Rev. Dr. J., ii, 116, 150, 159, 173 n, 174, 175, 178
Learned, Hon. Amasa, i, 51, 477, 482, 483 n, 488
Lee, Dr. Arthur, i, 229, 234 n, 302, 305, 337
Lee, Hon. Charles, ii, 184
Lee, Hon. R. H., i, 229, 293 n, 302, 304, 327, 367, 371; ii, 417, 438
Lee, Nath., i, 110, 111
Lee, Simeon, i, 4, 16, 315
Lee, Mr., i, 27 n
Leib, Dr. Michael, ii, 99, 107
Leland, Rev. John, ii, 54 n, 58 n, 66
Leonard, Mr., i, 15, 65
Leslie, Rev. George, i, 33, 34, 38, 41, 42, 46
Letters from Dr. Cutler to
  Appleton, Dr. N. W., i, 114
  Baird, Dr., ii, 284
  Belknap, Dr. J., ii, 220, 222, 226, 230, 232, 236, 243, 246, 247, 248, 252, 257
  Burnham, Maj. Thos., ii, 49, 89
  Castiglioni, Count, ii, 295
  Chickering, Rev. Mr., i, 87
  Church and Parish in Ipswich Hamlet, i, 31
  Corporation of Harvard College, i, 82
  Cutler, Mrs., i, 482, 486
  Cutler, Ephraim, ii, 43, 317, 321
  Cutler, Temple, ii, 84, 185
  Dana, Rev. Dr., ii, 46, 61, 68, 74, 75, 100, 147, 164, 191
  Dane, Hon. Nathan, i, 194
  Davis, Hon. John, ii, 305
  Everett, Rev. Oliver, i, 458, 460, 461
  Guild, Benj., ii, 355
  Hazard, Hon. E., i, 330

Hermelin, Baron, ii, 287
Knox, Gen. Henry, i, 383
Lincoln, Gen., ii, 215
Muhlenberg, Rev. Dr., ii, 293
No Address, ii, 139, 156
Parsons, Theophilus, i, 92
Paykull, Baron Gustaf, ii, 298
Pickering, Hon. Timothy, ii, 314
Platt, Col. R., i, 380
Poole, Capt. F., ii, 123, 134, 150, 161, 163, 168, 177, 178
Poole, Mrs., ii, 131, 163
Putnam, Gen. R., i, 374, 435, 443; ii, 4, 8, 20, 27
Sargent, Maj., i, 187, 189, 192, 196, 333, 436, 448
Stiles, Rev. Dr., ii, 198, 206, 208
Stokes, Dr. J., ii, 262, 275, 279
Tallmadge, Col. B., i, 492
Torrey, Dr. J., ii, 47, 48, 63, 73, 75, 85, 92, 118, 120, 122, 137, 159, 166, 186, 192
Torrey, Mrs., ii, 50, 55, 99, 115, 144, 189
To his Son, ii, 95, 124, 142
Vaughan, Sam'l, Jr., ii, 282
Wigglesworth, Prof. E., ii, 210
Williams, Prof., i, 80
Letters to Dr. Cutler from
Appleton, Dr. N. W., i, 114
Adams, John, ii, 87
Barton, Prof. Benj. Smith, ii, 287, 289
Belknap, Dr. J., i, 332; ii, 223, 233, 240, 249, 255, 257
Cushing, Thomas C., ii, 175
Dana, Rev. Dr., ii, 54
Dane, Hon. N., i, 382
Deane, Rev. Dr. S., i, 386
Dexter, Dr. A., i, 115
Klein, Dr. J. G., ii, 304
Lincoln, Gen., ii, 217
Merry, Mrs., ii, 280
Morse, Rev. Dr., ii, 129
Muhlenberg, Rev. Dr., ii, 291
Parsons, Gen., i, 388, 438
Parsons, Theophilus, ii, 310
Paykull, Baron G., ii, 297, 301
Peck, Prof. W. D., ii, 325
Pickering, Col. T., ii, 316, 328, 329
Putnam, Gen. R., i, 376, 442, 446, 449, 451, 464; ii, 18, 21, 31, 345
Rafinesque, Prof. C. S., ii, 311
Rotter, Rev. J. P., ii, 304

  - Stickney, B. F., ii, 300
  - Stiles, Rev. Dr., ii, 205, 207
  - Stokes, Dr. Jonathan, ii, 259, 274
  - Swartz, Dr. Olof, ii, 307
  - Taggart, Hon. Sam'l, ii, 329, 331
  - Tallmadge, Col. Benj., ii, 325, 326, 327
  - Valentia, Lord, ii, 309
  - Vaughan, Sam'l, Jr., ii, 280, 283
  - Whitney, Dr. E., i, 197
- Lettsom, Dr., ii, 72
- Lewis, Maj. Thos., ii, 156
- Lewis, Mr., ii, 71, 113
- Lexington, Battle of, i, 48, 49
- Lezay-Marnesia, Marquis, i, 502, 503, 505, 512, 514, 517
- Ligonier, Pa., i, 426
- Lincoln, Gen. B., i, 59, 93, 198 n, 199, 388, 487; ii, 217, 219, 355
- Lincoln, Hon. Levi, ii, 95 n, 355
- Lincoln, Rev. Mr., ii, 343
- List of Correspondence, ii, 197
- List of Scholars (partial), ii, notes, 364, 365, 366, 367
- Little, Capt., i, 29
- Little, Dr., ii, 42
- Little, Rev. Mr., i, 79, 96, 97 n, 109; ii, 222, 223, 224, 234
- Litchfield, Conn., i, 393
- Livermore, Hon. Sam'l, i, 337; ii, 314
- Livingstone, Hon. Walter, i, 229
- Location of Ohio Company Lands, i, 136, 196, 230, 236, 238, 304 n
- Locke, Pres. Sam'l, i, 22, 24
- Lockwood, Rev. Mr., i, 311, 312
- Lord, Abner, ii, 2
- Lord, Nathaniel, ii, 352
- Lotbiniere, Marquis, i, 231
- Low, Dea., i, 33, 89
- Lowell, Francis, i, 117 n
- Lowell, Judge, i, 86, 89, 465; ii, 38, 41
- Ludlow, Israel, i, 442 n, 443, 446
- Lyman, Mr., ii, 38, 341
- Lynde, Judge, i, 59, 64, 80

- Macon, Hon. Nath., ii, 48
- Madison, Hon. James, i, 126, 254, 272, 337, 362, 458, 459, 460; ii, 116, 154 427
- Madison, Mrs. Dolly, ii, 115 n, 154 n, 163 n
- Maheas, M., i, 499
- Man, Mr., i, 24
- Manly, Commodore, i, 61

Manning, i, 43, 56, 115, 118
Mansfield, Esq., i, 36, 37, 45, 79
Marietta, i, 141, 142, 148, 344, 507
Marsh, Mr., i, 28, 29
Marsh, Rev. Mr., i, 212
Martin, Gov., i, 254, 271, 272, 273, 283
Martin, Luther, ii, 184
Maryland, i, 122, 336, 360, 361, 363
Mason, Hon. J., ii, 41, 130
Mason, Hon. Geo., i, 254, 271, 272, 283
Massachusetts, i, 350, 351, 360
Mather, Rev. Mr., i, 23, 41
Matlock, Mr., ii, 218
Matthews, John, i, 450, 513 n, 517, 519
Mattoon, Gen. Ebenezer, ii, 52, 53 n, 55, 67, 91, 94, 117
Maxwell, Lt. Col. H., i, 154
Maxwell, Mr., i, 37
May, Col. John, i, 375 n, 406
Mechard, Mons., i, 204, 229, 291 n
Medicine, Practice of, i, 72, 73, 114
Meigs, Col. R. J., i, 498, 512
Menard, Peter, i, 421
Merritt, Dea., i, 62
Merry, Mr., ii, 163, 164, 182, 183, 184, 190, 335
Merry, Mrs. E., ii, 163 n, 185, 190, 280, 325
Metcalf, Jonathan, i, 18, 33
Mial, Dea., i, 33
Miami, Great, i, 340
Middletown, Conn., i, 213, 214
Miles' Tavern, i, 216
Miles River, i, 465
Milligan, Hon. James, i, 230, 296
Mills, Capt. John, i, 180, 186, 191, 197
Mississippi, i, 355, 358, 366
Mitchell, Hon. Nahum, ii, 149
Mitchell, Hon. Samuel L., ii, 72, 73 n, 104 n, 105 n, 325
Moffat, Dr. Thos., i, 16
Monongahela River, i, 357
Montague, Admiral, i, 32
Monroe, Hon. James, ii, 122, 123, 352, 412
Moody, Mr., i, 29; ii, 43 n
Moore, Hon. Andrew, ii, 156
Moore, Mr., i, 325, 326
Moore, Rev. Dr., i, 235, 454
Morehead, Rev. Mr., i, 58
Morgan, Col. Geo., i, 229, 245 n 246

Morgan, Dr. John, i, 229, 256
Morrel, Mr., i, 57
Morris, Com., ii, 150
Morris, Gen., ii, 66, 121
Morris, Hon. Governeur, ii, 59 n, 66, 74, 91
Morris, Hon. Robert, i, 241 n, 249, 257
Morris, Hon. Thos., ii, 77, 91
Morristown, N. J., i, 288
Morrow, Hon. Jer., ii, 174
Morse, Dr. Jed., ii, 109, 110, 129, 130 n, 290
Morse, Mr., i, 10, 11, 116
Moyes, Dr., i, 117
Muchmore, Capt., i, 91
Muhlenberg, Dr. Henry, i, 467, 470, ii, 288, 291 n
Muhlenberg, Hon. F. A., ii, 292 n
Mullecks, Mr., i, 86
Mumford, Mr., i, 204
Munsell, Levi, i, 133
Murray, Chevalier, i, 437; ii, 282, 283, 289
Murray, Rev. John, i, 37, 58, 59
Muskingum, i, 354, 357, 359
McCarty, Rev. Mr., i, 78
McCormick, Rev. Mr., ii, 61, 72, 150, 171, 173
McCourtland, Dr., i, 236
McCrary, Hon. William, ii, 155
McCurdy, Capt., i, 412, 418, 419, 421
McFarland, Mr., i, 407
McHenry, Hon. James, ii, 107, 114
McKean, Hon. Mr., i, 129, 338
McKeen, Rev. Joseph, i, 385; ii, 36, 38, 40
McMahon, Capt., i, 409
McMullen, Col., i, 99, 100, 111, 113
McNeal, Capt., i, 59

Names for New States, ii, 409
Napp's Tavern, i, 224
Navy Department, ii, 99, 106, 117, 143
Nelson, Hon. Jer., ii, 181 n
Newark, N. J., i, 243
New Brunswick, N. J., i, 244
New England, Plan of Surveys, i, 124, 125, 127
Newman, Mrs. Hannah, i, 17, 18
Newport, R. I., i, 324
New River, i, 100, 101
New State, i, 120, 140, 149, 156, 157, 158, 338, 349
Newton, Mr. John M., i, 500 n

New York, i, 337
New York City, Description of, i, 306–309
New York, Deed of Cession, i, 122
Nichols, Rev. Mr., i, 44, 351
Nicholson, Hon. Joseph H., ii, 67, 69, 90, 101, 184, 193
Nicholson, Joseph, i, 421
Nicholson, Mr., i, 225–228
Nicholson, Col. John P., 412 n.
Nightingale, Mr., i, 204
Noble, Rev. Mr., i, 26, 29
Norwood, Mr., i, 40
Nourse, Mr. Joseph, ii, 155, 174 n
Noyes, Esq., i, 466; ii, 110

Obituary Notice, ii, 370–372
O'Brien, Mr., i, 44
Officers' Petition, 1782, i, 152–154
Officers' Petition (with names), 1783, i, 159–167
Ogden, Hon. Aaron, ii, 70
Ohio Company, i, 118, 130, 133, 135, 144, 146, 186, 191, 192, 195, 196, 202, 319–322, 326, 327 n, 328, 329, 349, 351, 352, 354, 356, 357, 358, 360, 364, 366, 370, 371, 376, 384, 385, 407, 413 n, 434; ii, 19, 22, 25, 32, 293
Ohio River, i, 408, 411
Ohio Valley, i, 121, 135, 147
Olcott, Hon. Simeon, ii, 107
Oliver, Judge, i, 59, 64, 74; ii, 204
Oliver, Mr., i, 55; ii, 342
Oliver, Maj. Peter, i, 391, 400
Oliver, Col. Robert, i, 167, 175, 470, 519, 521; ii, 2, 32
Olney, Benj., i, 324, 325
Ordinations, i, 19, 30, 33, 35, 40, 47, 56, 62, 75, 93, 113
Ordinance, Governmental, July 13, 1787, i, 120, 364–371; ii, its history, by Peter Force, App. D, 407
Ordinance, Land, i, 124, 126, 145, ii, 427, 429
Organisation of House Rep., ii. 48 (Fed. members), 49, 50
Osgood, Dr., i, 201
Osgood, Hon Sam'l, i, 131, 240 n, 299, 300, 454, 495; ii, 355
Ossippee, i, 98
Otis, Harrison Gray, i, 491
Otis, Maj., i, 22
Otto, Sieur, i, 300
Orne, Dr. Jos., i, 74, 96, 348

Page, Mr., i, 86, 90
Paine, Thomas, ii, 18, 19
Pamphlet, Dr. Cutler's, i, 339, 345, 499; ii, App. C
Park, Benj., i, 229

Parker, Rev. Mr., i, 59
Parkinson, Chaplain W., ii, 60, 106, 107, 113
Parkman, Mr., i, 55
Parish, Rev. Mr., ii, 336
Parsons, Gen. S. H., i, 191, 192, 193, 194, 196, 214 n, 215, 298, 313, 327, 332, 341, 411, 445, 447, 451, 495, 498, 504, 505; ii, 197
Parsons, Rev. Mr., i, 29, 33, 34, 40, 44, 46, 54, 55
Parsons, Rev. O., i, 35, 38, 40, 63, 90, 116, 201, 203, 323, 385
Parsons, Hon. Theophilus, i, 90, 92, 93; ii, 215, 310, 311 n, 341, 347
Patch, Capt., i, 47
Patch, Dea. John, i, 34, 35, 40, 91; ii, 459
Patterson, Gen. John, i, 154, 180
Paykull, Baron Gustaf, ii, 109, 112, 117, 297 n, 301, 304, 305
Payson, Rev. Mr., i, 33, 34, 45, 56, 86, 95, 96, 385; ii, 206
Peabody, Maj., ii, 118
Peabody, Rev. Mr., i, 42; ii, 339
Peace, News of, i, 94, 95; ii, 350
Peale, Charles W., i, 259 n, 262
Pearson, Prof, i, 80, 113, 488
Pease, Capt., i, 19
Pechon, Mr., ii, 115, 140
Peck, Prof. W. D., i, 110, 111, 112; ii, 307, 341
Peele, Capt., i, 89, 113, 201, 386
Pemberton, Dr., i, 30, 42, 491
Pennant, Mr., i, 437; ii, 274
Pennsylvania, i, 340, 363
Pennytown, i, 286
Perkins, Hon. Elias, ii, 52, 53 n, 55, 59, 67, 111, 113
Perkins, Rev. Mr., ii, 5, 7, 8, 9
Peters, Hon. Richard, i, 337
Philips, Hon. Wm., i, 59
Philosophical Library, i, 86, 385, 467
Pickering, Col. Timothy, i, 126, 149, 156, 228; ii, 44 n, 67, 69, 110, 130, 134, 135, 136, 137, 153, 155, 172, 174, 316, 317, 341
Pickering, John, ii, 342
Pickering, Judge John, ii, 156 n, 165, 166, 167
Pickering's Scheme, i, 156–159, 338, 339, 340, 348, 353
Pickman, Col. Benj., ii, 342, 353
Pinckney, Hon. Charles, i, 254, 338; ii, 412, 413
Pintard, John, i, 454, 455 n
Pitkin, Gov., i, 16
Pitman, Mr., ii, 38, 42
Place, Mr., i, 97; ii, 223, 228, 232
Plater, Hon. Thos., ii, 93, 103
Platt, Col. Richard, i, 229, 322 n, 326, 327, 374, 431, 436, 457, 495, 498, 509
Playfair, Wm., i, 499, 500, 502, 503, 505, 514, 515, 516

Plumb, Rev. Mr., i, 57, 62, 63, 215
Plummer, Dr., i, 84
Plummer, Joseph, i, 97, 110
Policy of Congress, i, 121
Pomeroy, Gen., i, 49
Poole, Capt. F., ii, 110 n, 123, 134, 150, 161, 163, 177, 178, 348, 358, 366
Poole, Mrs. E., ii, 50, 53, 131, 133, 163
Poole, Ward, ii, 110
Porter, Maj., i, 54, 187
Porter, Mr., i, 29
Porter and Sawyer, i, 374, 407 n, 426
Potomac River, i, 357, 358, 359
Potter, Dea., i, 33
Powder seized at Medford, i, 46, Powder Mill, 55 n
Powell, Hon. Jer., i, 59
Prather, Capt. Basil, i, 418, 421, 422, 423, 424
Prather, Mr., i, 408, 409, 425
Pratt's Tavern, i, 210
Preble, Capt., i, 19
Prentice, Dea., i, 10, 33, 35
Prescott, Hon. Oliver, ii, 42, 355
Prince, Rev. Dr. John, i, 75, 79, 80, 85, 86, 96, 116, 200, 386, 434, 468; ii, 39, 42, 236, 351
Princeton, N. J., i, 245
Private Boarding School, i, 89, 91, 113, 117; ii, 358, 362, 364 n
Provost, Bishop, i, 326
Public Debt, i, 121, 127, 128, 361
Putnam, Capt., i, 329
Putnam, Col. Israel, i, 425; ii, 2, 6
Putnam, General Israel, i, 15, 16, 49, 53
Putnam, General Rufus, i, 135, 148, 149, 160, 167, 172, 174, 176 n, 178, 180, 192, 193, 204, 228, 332, 333, 339, 340, 353, 358, 411, 442, 445, 446, 485, 495, 498, 504, 508 n, 509 n, 510, 511, 512, 515, 517, 518, 519, 521, 523; ii, 2, 4, 196, 345
Putnam, Mr., ii, 42, 110
Puritan Clergy, i, 119, 346, 347; ii, 277

Quarles, Mr. F., i, 117; ii, 340, 345
Quincy, Josiah, i, 15, 42; ii, 37, 331, 340

Rafinesque, Prof. C. S., ii, 311 n, 314, 325
Randall, Judge, i, 207, 317
Randolph, Hon. John, ii, 78, 79, 81, 91, 152, 162, 182, 184, 185, 187, 188, 189, 191, 193, 326, 327
Randolph, Mrs., ii, 113
Ramsey's History, i, 143, 147
Reading, Pa., i, 398

Read, Hon. Nathan, ii, 51, 53 n, 59, 60, 66, 71, 104, 107, 109, 113
Read, Hon. Wm., ii, 352
Reed, Col., i, 143
Reed, Mr., i, 454, 457
Reed's Tavern, i, 223
Report on Director's Memorial, i, 477–479
Resolutions, April 23, 1784, App. D., ii, 407
Rhea, Hon. John, ii, 155
Richards, Dea., i, 33
Riedesel, Gen., i, 64
Ripley, Rev. Mr., i, 223
Rittenhouse, David, i, 229, 230 n, 247, 263; ii, 235, 240, 243
Robbins, Mr., i, 26, 47, 56
Robinson, Joseph, i, 28
Rochefontaine, Col., i, 503, 506, 511, 514 n, 515, 516, 517
Rodney, Hon. C. A., ii, 184, 193
Rogers, Nathaniel, i, 90, 388, 390 n, 402, 436; ii, 309 n, 335
Rogers, Mr., i, 62, 85, 92
Rogers, Rev. Dr. John, i, 228, 231, 233 n, 236, 237, 296, 457
Rogers, Rev. Nath., i, 31, 33, 34, 38, 40
Rogers, Rev. Wm., i, 229
Root, Hon. Erastus, ii, 188
Ropes, Judge, i, 45
Ross, Hon. Jas., ii, 70, 71
Rush, Dr. Benj., i, 229, 257, 279, 280, 281, 283
Russel, Rev. Mr., i, 16, 17, 29
Russel, Thos., i, 381, 459
Rust, Dr., i, 40, 44
Rutledge, Hon. John, i, 129, 254, 272, 337; ii, 84, 85, 86, 90, 120, 121, 132

Safford, John, i, 86; ii, 335
Saltpetre-making, i, 53, 54, 55
Saltonstall, L., ii, 340, 348, 352
Sampson, Crocker, i, 180
Sargent, Mr., i, 117
Sargent, Major W., i, 180, 186, 187 n, 189, 200, 240, 295, 297, 298, 299, 301, 303, 305, 339, 444, 448, 495, 496, 497, 504, 515; ii, 9, 197, 249–251, 321, 429, 430
Saunders, Capt., i, 89
Savage, Mr., i, 40
School Examinations, i, 452, 453
Schuylkill River, i, 398
Scioto, i, 340, 345, 357
Scioto Company, i, 326, 327 n, 494, 496, 513
Scioto, Society of the, i, 499, 500, 501, 505, 513, 514, 521
Scott, Major W., i, 154

Sea Anemone, i, 467, 468
Searle, Rev. Jonathan, i, 29
Sedgwick, Hon. Theodore, i, 372, 461, 477, 482 n; ii, 355
Sermons, i, 344; at Campus Martius, ii, 438; Century Sermon, 450–466
Seven Ranges, i, 126, 365
Sever, Hon. W., i, 59, 355
Sewall, Prof. Stephen, i, 36, 77, 78, 82, 87
Sewall, Judge David, ii, 41, 355
Shay's Rebellion, i, 118, 198, 199
Sheaff, James, i, 92
Shepard, Gen. William, i, 198; ii, 66, 91, 94, 95, 107, 108, 112, 113
Sherman, Hon. Roger, i, 229
Sherman, Rev. Mr., i, 26
Shippen, Dr. D., i, 229
Shirley, Gov., i, 30
Shorter, Jesse, i, 110; ii, 155 n, 359
Silsbee, Capt. Zachariah, ii, 365
Silsbee, Hon. N., i, 89; ii, 110, 364
Slavery, Exclusion of, i, 158, 340, 347, 348, 352
Smilie, Hon. John, ii, 157, 327
Smith, Gen. J., ii, 107
Smith, Hon. John, ii, 174
Smith, Hon. J. C., ii, 52 n, 55, 67, 76, 90, 91, 94, 113, 117
Smith, Hon. Samuel, ii, 48
Smith, Hon. Melancthon, i, 229, 337, 338, 371; ii, 413, 417
Smith (printer), ii, 103, 107, 113, 121
Smith, Rev. Dr., i, 229, 247; ii, 105, 135
Smith, Rev. Mr., i, 84
Society of Twenty-four, i, 502 n, 503, 504, 517
South Carolina, i, 362
Spaight, Hon. Richard D., ii, 410, 411
Spaulding, Rev. Levi, ii, 353 n
Speak, Mr., ii, 112, 136, 171
Spofford, Dr., i, 74, 80, 85, 87
Sprague, Dr., i, 58
Sproat, Col. Ebenezer, i, 420 n
Sprout, Rev. Dr., i, 229, 265, 484
Stacey, i, 52; ii, App. E., 462
Stafford, Conn., i, 222
Stafford Springs, i, 315, 316
Stamp Act, i, 15
Stanley, Hon. John, ii, 113
Stanton, Hon. Joseph, ii, 107, 108
State Balances, ii, 97, 99, 116
St. Clair, Gen. Arthur, i, 135, 229, 292 n, 298, 300, 301, 313, 377, 411, 413, 417, 418, 421, 439, 485, 520

St. Didier, i, 499
Steam Engine, i, 205–207
Stedman, Hon. William, ii, 149
Sterns, Col., i, 199
Steuben, Baron, i, 294, 326, 454
Stevens, Rev. Mr., i, 50
Steward, Rev. Mr., i, 66
Stickney, B. F., ii, 300, 301 n
Stiles, Dr. Ezra, i, 7, 64, 217 n, 219, 312, 323; ii, 205, 207
Stille's Hotel, ii, 95, 103, 117, 154
St. Lawrence, i, 355
Stockton, Mr., ii, 135
Stoddard, Col., ii, 95, 117
Stokes, Dr. Jonathan, i, 115, 191, 385; ii, 117, 237, 259 n
Stone, Hon. Michael Jenifer, i, 459
Story, Rev. Daniel, i, 434, 435, 436, 442, 498; ii, 1, 2–10, 17, 18
Story, Rev. Isaac, i, 30, 87, 91, 385; ii, 5, 17, 39
Stratton, Hon. John, ii, 91
Strong, Hon. Caleb, i, 254 n, 255, 256, 271, 272, 454; ii, 37, 95, 98
Strong, Rev. Mr., i, 314
Sullivan, Gen. John, i, 65, 70
Sullivan, Judge, i, 489; ii, 109
Sumner, Increase, i, 9, 18, 23
Sumner, Nath'l, i, 11, 12, 33
Sumner, Mr., i, 81
Sumner, Samuel, i, 9, 18, 30
Sumrell's Ferry, i, 354
Super, Pres. C. W., ii, 33, 34
Susquehanna, i, 357
Swain, Rev. Joseph, i, 37, 40, 44, 54, 61, 62, 90, 96, 116, 201, 329, 385
Swasey, Maj. Joseph, ii, 36, 40, 111, 335, 351 n
Swift, Col. H., i, 154
Swearengen, Mr., i, 408
Swartz, Dr. Olof, ii, 109, 112, 117, 302, 305, 306, 307 n
Symmes, John Cleves, i, 403 n, 415; ii, 113, 322
Symmes, Rev. Mr., i, 29
Systematic Occupation of Public Lands, i, 121, 131, 146
System of Land Surveys, i, 123–127

Table of Mortality, ii, 210–215
Taft, Mr., i, 26
Taggart, Rev. Samuel, ii, 135, 136 n, 149, 173, 174, 329, 334, 348, 352
Talcot, Rev. Mr., ii, 348
Tallmadge, Col. Benj., i, 392 n, 431, 436, 492; ii, 53, 55, 67, 93, 103, 326, 327
Tappan, Rev. David, i, 42, 44, 56, 62, 457

Tappan, Col., ii, 339
Taureau, Gen., ii, 180 n, 181
Taylor, Hon. John, i, 59
Telfair, Hon. Edward, i, 129
Temple, Augusta G., i, 234 n
Temple, Lady, i, 229, 234 n
Temple, Sir John, i, 228, 234 n, 293, 302
Tenny, Judge Samuel, ii, 61, 71, 104, 107, 108
Tenny, Mr., i, 42
Thanksgivings, i, 28, 36, 44, 47, 59, 64, 73; ii, 112, 149
Thatcher, Dr., ii, 40, 109
Thaxter, Rev, Mr., i, 116
Thayer, Col., i, 57
Thayer, Rev. Dr., ii, 339
Thermometer, ii, 243–245
Thiebaut, M., i, 503, 512
Thomas, General David, ii, 107, 108, 326
Thomson, Charles, ii, 427, 438
Thomson, John, i, 111
Thomson, Mr., i, 34
Thomson, Dr. Sam'l, ii, 341 n
Thorn, Dea. John, ii, 459
Thorndike, Col. Israel, i, 67, 69, 74, 76; ii, 110, 321, 343 n, 353
Thurston, Rev. Mr., ii, 344, 348, 349
Tileston, Capt., i, 85
Tillinghast, Judge Thomas, ii, 107, 108, 113, 116
Titcomb, Gen., i, 62, 65, 66, 67, 68, 75, 90
Tomahawk Improvements, i, 133
Torrey, Dr. Joseph (of Killingly), i, 16, 33
Torrey, Dr. Joseph, i, 343; ii, 36, 47 n, 48, 63, 68, 73, 75, 85, 92, 95, 118, 120, 122, 159, 166, 186, 192, 358
Torrey, Mrs. Mary, ii, 99, 144, 146, 189, 190
Torrey, Rev. Dr. Joseph, ii, 47 n, 195
Town Meetings, i, 10, 21, 75, 78; ii, 36, 340, 344, 345, 348, 350
Townsend, Mr., i, 324
Townshend, Rev. Mr., i, 13, 14
Township System, i, 123, 340
Tracy, John, i, 85
Tracy, Hon. U., i, 392 n; ii, 150
Tracy, Nathaniel, i, 67, 355
Treadwell, Capt., i, 88
Treadwell, Rev. Mr., i, 32, 42; ii, 342
Trenton, N. J., i, 248
Trescott, Maj., i, 75
Troops Raised, 1787, i, 133
Trouback, Parson, i, 9

Trumbull, Amelia, i, 211 n
Trumbull, Jonathan, i, 16; ii, 207
Tucker, Dr. T. T., i, 484 n
Tudor, William, Jun., ii, 341
Tufts, Dr. Cotton, i, 94, 116, 355
Tupper, Gen. Benj., i, 160, 175, 178 n, 179, 180, 187, 333, 408, 410, 416 n, 495, 504
Tupper, Maj. Anselm, ii, 284 n, 286
Tyng, Mr., i, 110

Union, i, 338
University, Ohio, i, 345; ii, 18–20, 21, 22–31
Upham, Hon. Geo. B., ii, 107, 108, 112

Vacant Territory, i, 121, 122, 129, 361
Valentia, Lord, ii, 308–310
Van Berckle, Heer de Heer, i, 301
Vandalia Land Co., i, 337
Vanderburgh, Col., i, 394
Van Ness, Major, ii, 152 n, 174
Van Rennsaelaer, Hon. Wm. ii, 66 n, 113, 116
Varnum, Gen. J. M., i, 66, 321 n, 413, 415, 438, 439, 441; ii, 249, 251
Varnum, Hon. Joseph B., i, 337; ii, 187, 326, 327
Vaughan Family, i, 265 n, 266
Vaughan, John, i, 228, 265 n, 267, 272, 275, 279
Vaughan, Sam'l, Sr., i, 278
Vaughan, Sam'l, Jr., i, 110, 200, 228, 265 n; ii, 247, 255, 281, 283
Vigo, Francis, i, 418, 419 n, 420, 421, 423, 424, 425
Virginia, i, 128, 352, 356, 359, 360, 361, 370

Wade, Col. Nath., i, 66, 198, 200
Wadsworth, Col. Elijah, i, 431
Wadsworth, Gen. Peleg, ii, 66 n, 71, 109, 113, 116, 163, 179
Wadsworth, Rev. Dr. Benj., i, 42, 96, 113, 201, 385; ii, 5, 343 n, 349, 351, 352, 368, 369
Wales, Dr. Sam'l, i, 117, 217, 220, 221
Walker, Robert, i, 15, 222, 311
Walker, Col. Benj., i, 516 n, 517
Walker, Rev. Mr., ii, 348, 351, 352
Walley, Rev. Mr., i, 39
Walter, Rev. Mr., i, 22
Walton, Hon. Mr., M. P., i, 234
Ward, Gen. Artemas, i, 59
Ward, Mr., i, 14; ii, 38, 135
Warren, Dr., i, 94, 117, 203
Washington City, ii, 50, 51, 349

Washington, Gen. Geo., i, 121, 125, 126, 131, 134, 135, 137, 139, 140, 141, 142, 143, 144, 145, 149–152, 172, 174–177, 339, 385, 350
Washington, Madam, i, 488; ii, 55, 56, 57; 58, 67
Washington, State of, i, 339
Waters, Col., i, 200; ii, 247
Watkins, Mr., i, 89
Wayne, Gen. Anthony, i, 486
Webb, Gen. N., i, 229, 293, 295
Webb, Rev. Mr., i, 22
Webber, President, ii, 341
Webster, Daniel, i, 343
Webster, Rev. Josiah, ii, 39, 109, 334, 335, 339
Weidler, Prof., ii, 202
Weld, Mr., i, 26
Wells, Capt., i, 96
Wells, Charles, i, 407
West, Mr., i, 115
West, Rev. Sam'l, i, 8, 12, 13, 14, 33
Wethersfield, Conn., i, 212
Wheeler, Mrs. E. P., ii, 357
Wheelock, Mr. i, 33
Whipple, Dea. Matt., ii, 336, 339, 459 n
Whipple, Dea. Nathaniel, i, 34, 35, 40, 45, 56; ii, 368, 459 n.
Whipple, Dr., i, 57
Whipple, John, i, 38, 56, 61
Whipple, Joseph, i, 99, 100, 109; ii, 223, 224, 225, 227
Whipple, Madam, i, 30, 35, 46
Whipple, Mr., i, 53, 54, 55
Whitcomb, Gen., i, 49
White, Hon. Alexander, i, 460
White, Maj. Hatfield, i, 329 n, 376, 379, 384, 393, 404; ii, 32
White Hills, Journey to, i, 96–110; 2d Journey to, i, 110–113; ii, 220–228, 271–273
White Horse Tavern, i, 399
Whitefield, Rev. Geo., i, 24, 25, 26, 30
Whitney, Dr. Elisha, i, 42, 43, 44, 48, 49, 50, 56, 60, 72, 75, 117, 197, 200, 455, 456
Whittaker, Dr., i, 30, 40, 63
Whittaker, Rev. Mr., ii, 336
Whittemore, Mr., i, 84, 85
Whittlesey, Mr., i, 312, 313, 314
Wigglesworth, Col. Ed., i, 77, 78, 85
Wigglesworth, Madam, i, 33, 35, 36
Wigglesworth, Prof. Ed., i, 78, 116; ii, 210 n
Wigglesworth, Rev. Sam'l, i, 30, 36; ii, 456, 457, 461
Wilkinson, Gen. James, ii, 148

Willard, Rev. Dr. Joseph, i, 44, 46, 48, 50, 55, 60, 61, 62, 64, 72, 74 n, 75, 79, 83, 84, 85, 86, 87, 92, 93, 94, 96, 203, 384, 488; ii, 361
Willard, Rev. Mr., ii, 116, 117
Williams, Col., i, 22
Williams, Hon. Lemuel, ii, 76, 101, 107
Williams, Isaac, i, 412 n
Williams, John, i, 110, 112
Williams, Prof., i, 78, 80, 82, 87, 93, 203, 314
Williams, Robert, i, 9, 18, 32, 37, 38, 49, 56, 86; ii, 38, 39, 341
Williams, Timothy, i, 110
Williamson, Hon. Hugh, i, 129, 131, 254, 272, 283
Wilson, Rev. Mr., i, 236, 237, 296
Wingate, Hon. Paine, i, 97, 483; ii, 224 n
Winslow, Rev. Miron, ii, 353 n
Winthrop, Hon. J., i, 59
Winthrop, Dr., i, 203, 234 n; ii, 201
Wiseman's Bottom, i, 416
Witherspoon, Rev. Dr. John, i, 129, 229, 231, 236 n, 361
Wood, Mr., i, 22
Woodbridge, Judge Dudley, i, 517 n.
Woodbridge, Mr., i, 15, 135
Woodbridge Tavern, i, 209
Woods, Hon. Henry, ii, 71, 113
Woods, Rev. Mr., ii, 335
Worcester, Rev. Sam'l, ii, 339 n, 341, 342, 343, 344, 347, 351, 352, 354
Wyllys, Col. Hezekiah, i, 15, 211 n

Yates, Hon. Abraham, i, 294, 372; ii, 417
Young's Tavern, i, 223
Yrujo, Marquis, ii, 140, 152

Zane, Col. Ebenezer, i, 409 n, 410
Zeigler, Capt., i, 420 n

PUBLICATIONS

OF

ROBERT CLARKE & CO.

61, 63, and 65 West Fourth Street,

CINCINNATI, OHIO.

HISTORICAL AND MISCELLANEOUS.

Alzog (John, D.D.) A Manual of Universal Church History. Translated by Rev. T. J. Pabisch and Rev. T. S. Byrne. 3 vols. 8vo 10 50

Andre (Major). The Cow Chase; an Heroick Poem. 8vo. Paper 75

Antrim (J.) The History of Champaign and Logan Counties, Ohio, from their First Settlement. 12mo. 1 50

Baby's Record. Arranged for a Record of the Baby's Life. Small 4to. 1 25

Ballard (Julia P.) Insect Lives; or, Born in Prison. Illustrated. Sq. 12mo. 1 00

Bassler (S. S.) The Weather: A Practical Guide to its Changes. Showing Signal Service System, and How to Foretell Local Weather. Illustrated. 8vo. Paper. 25

Bell (Thomas J.) History of the Cincinnati Water Works. Plates. 8vo. 75

Benner (Samuel, an Ohio Farmer). Prophecies in Future Ups and Downs in Prices. What Years to make Money on Pig-Iron, Hogs, Corn, and Provisions. Third edition, giving the results for 1876–1884, and "Prophecies" to 1900. 24mo. 1884. 1 00

Bible in the Public Schools. Records, Arguments, etc., in the Case of Minor *vs.* Board of Education of Cincinnati. 8vo. 2 00

Arguments in Favor of the Use of the Bible. Separate. Paper. 50

Arguments Against the Use of the Bible. Separate. Paper. 50

Bibliotheca Americana. 1886. Being a priced catalogue of a large Collection (over 7,400 items) of Books and Pamphlets relating to America. 8vo. Paper. 50

Bibliotheca Americana. Supplement. 1887.

Biddle (Horace P.) Elements of Knowledge. 12mo. 1 00

Biddle (Horace P.) Last Poem. Portrait. 12mo. 1 50

Biddle (Horace P.) Prose Miscellanies. 12mo. 1 00

Bouquet (H.) The Expedition of, against the Ohio Indians in 1764, etc. With Preface by Francis Parkham, Jr. 8vo. $3.00. Large paper. 6 00

Brunner (A. A.) Elementary and Pronouncing French Reader. 18mo. 60

Brunner (A. A.) The Gender of French Verbs Simplified. 18mo. 25

Buck (Dr. J. D.) The Nature and Aim of Theosophy. Sq. 24mo. Paper. 25

Buck (Dr. J. D.) The Secret Doctrine of the Ancient Mysteries. Sq. 24mo. Paper. 25

Burt (Rev. N. C., D.D.) The Far East; or, Letters from Egypt, Palestine, etc. Illustrated. 12mo. 1 50

Butterfield (C. W.) The Washington-Crawford Letters; being the Correspondence between George Washington and William Crawford, concerning Western Lands. 8vo. 1 00

Butterfield (C. W.) The Discovery of the North-west, in 1634, by John Nicolet, with a Sketch of his Life. 12mo. 1 00

Carr (Lucien). The Mounds of the Mississippi Valley, Historically Considered. 4to. Paper. 1 50

Carr (L.) and **Shaler (N. S.)** On the Pre-Historic Remains of Kentucky. With 7 heliotype plates. 4to. Paper. 2 50

Clark (Col. George Rogers). Sketches of his Campaign in the Illinois in 1778–9. With an Introduction by Hon. Henry Pirtle, and an Appendix. 8vo. $2.00. Large paper. 4 00

Coffin (Levi). The Reminiscences of Levi Coffin, the Reputed President of the Underground Railroad. A Brief History of the Labors of a Lifetime in behalf of the Slave. With Stories of Fugitive Slaves, etc. etc 12mo. 2 00

Collier (Peter). Sorghum: Its Culture and Manufacture Economically Considered, and as a Source of Sugar, Syrup and Fodder. Illustrated. 8vo. 3 00

Constitution of the United States, etc. The Declaration of Independence, July 4, 1776; the Articles of Confederation, July 9, 1778; the Constitution of the United States, September 17, 1787; the Fifteenth Amendment to the Constitution, and Index; Washington's Farewell Address, September 7, 1796. 8vo. Paper. 25

Cook (W.) Synopsis of Chess Openings. A Tabulated Analysis. From the third English edition. Edited by J. W. Miller, Chess Editor of the Cincinnati Commercial Gazette. 8vo. 2 00

Cornwell (H. G.) Consultation Chart of the Eye-Symptoms and Eye-Complications of General Diseases. 14x20 inches. Mounted on Roller. 50

Craig (N. B.) The Olden Time. A Monthly Publication, devoted to the Preservation of Documents of Early History, etc. Originally published at Pittsburg, in 1846–47. 2 vols. 8vo. 10 00

Currie (James). Principles and Practice of Common School Education. 12mo. 1 00

Davis (W. J.) Kentucky Fossil Corals. A Monograph of the Polypi of the Silurian and Devonian Formations. Illustrated with 139 Artotype plates, representing 900 specimens. 2 vols. 4to. 25 00

DeBeck (David, M.D.) Hard Chancre of the Eyelids and Conjunctiva. Colored plate. 8vo. Paper. 50

Devereux (Mrs.) How to Play Progressive Croquet. 24mo Paper. 25

Doisy (A. J.) Reminiscences of Army Life under Napoleon Bonapa 12mo. 1

Drake (D.) Pioneer Life in Kentucky. Edited, with Notes and a Biographi Sketch by his Son, Hon. Chas. D. Dr 8vo. $3.00. Large paper. 6

DuBreuil (A.) Vineyard Culture Improved and Cheapened. Edited by Dr. J. A. Warder. 12mo. 2

Durrett (Reuben T.) John Filson, the First Historian of Kentucky, an accou of His Life and Writings, prepared fro original sources. 4to. Paper. 2

Ellard (Virginia G.) Grandma's Christmas Day. Illustrated. Sq. 12mo. 1

Everts (Orpheus, M.D.) What Shall We Do With the Drunkard? A Rationa View of the Use of Brain Stimulant 8vo. Paper.

Family Expense Book. A Printed Account Book, with Appropriate Colum and Headings for Keeping a Compl Record of Family Expenses. 12mo.

Finley (I. J.) and **Putnam (R.)** Pione Record and Reminiscences of the Ea Settlers and Settlement of Ross Coun Ohio. 8vo. 2

Fletcher (Wm. B., M.D.) Cholera: I Characteristics, History, Treatment, et 8vo. Paper. 1

Force (M. F.) Some Observations on t Letters of Amerigo Vespucci. 12m Paper.

Force (M. F.) Some Early Notices of t Indians of Ohio. To What Race did t Mound Builders Belong? 8vo. Pa per.

Freeman (Ellen). Manual of the Fren Verb, to accompany every Fren Course. 16mo. Paper.

Gallagher (Wm. D.) Miami Woods Golden Wedding, and other Po 12mo. 2

Garman (Samuel). On the Reptiles a Batrachians of North America. Part Ophidia. With 9 full page plates. 4 Paper. 4

Grimke (F.) Considerations on the ture and Tendency of Free Instituti 8vo. 2

Griswold (W.) Kansas: Her Resou and Developments; or, The Ka Pilot. 8vo. Paper.

Hall (James). Legends of the W Sketches Illustrative of the Habits, O cupations, Privations, Adventures, Sports of the Pioneers of the West. 12mo. 2 00

Hall (James). Romance of Western History; or, Sketches of History, Life, and Manners in the West. 12mo. 2 00

Hanover (M. D.) A Practical Treatise on the Law of Horses, embracing the Law of Bargain, Sale, and Warranty of Horses and other Live Stock; the Rule as to Unsoundness and Vice, and the Responsibility of the Proprietors of Livery, Auction, and Sale Stables, Innkeepers, Veterinary Surgeons and Farriers, Carriers, etc. 8vo. 4 00

Hart (Prof. J. M.) A Syllabus of Anglo-Saxon Literature. 8vo. Paper. 50

Hassaurek (F.) The Secret of the Andes. A Romance. 12mo. 1 50

The Same in German. 8vo. Paper, 50c.; cloth, 1 00

Hassaurek (F.) Four Years among Spanish Americans Third edition. 12mo. 1 50

Hatch (Col. W. S.) A Chapter in the History of the War of 1812, in the Northwest, embracing the Surrender of the Northwestern Army and Fort, at Detroit, August 16, 1813, etc. 18mo. 1 25

Hayes (Rutherford B.) The Life, Public Services, and Select Speeches of. Edited by J. Q. Howard. 12mo. Paper, 75c.; cloth. 1 25

Hazen (Gen. W. B.) Our Barren Lands. The Interior of the United States, West of the One Hundredth Meridian, and East of the Sierra Nevada. 8vo. Paper. 50

nshall (Dr. James A.) Book of the Black Bass: Comprising its complete Scientific and Life History, together with a Practical Treatise on Angling and Fly-fishing, and a full description of Tools, Tackle, and Implements. Illustrated. 12mo. 3 00

nshall (Dr. James A.) Camping and Cruising in Florida. An Account of Two Winters passed in Cruising round the Coast of Florida, as Viewed from the Standpoint of an Angler, a Sportsman, a Yachtsman, a Naturalist, and a Physician. Illustrated. 12mo. 1 50

yward (S. Frances). Elocution for Busy People. 18mo. Paper. 50

rton (S. Dana). Silver and Gold, and their Relation to the Problem of Resumption. 8vo. 1 50

rton (S. Dana). The Monetary Situation. 8vo. Paper. 50

Horton (S. Dana). Silver an Issue of International Politics. 8vo. Paper. 50

Hough (Franklin B.) Elements of Forestry. Designed to afford Information concerning the Planting and Care of Forest Trees for Ornament and Profit; and giving Suggestions upon the Creation and Care of Woodlands, with the View of securing the greatest Benefit for the longest Time. Particularly adapted to the Wants and Conditions of the United States. Illustrated. 12mo. 2 00

Hough (Franklin B., Editor). The American Journal of Forestry. Devoted to the Interest of Forest Tree Planting, the Formation and Care of Woodlands and Ornamental Plantations generally, and to the Various Economics therein concerned. Oct., 1882–Sept., 1883. 8vo. Cloth. 3 00

Housekeeping in the Blue Grass. A New and Practical Cook Book. By Ladies of the Presbyterian Church, Paris, Ky. 12mo. 17th thousand. 1 50

Hovey (Horace C.) Celebrated American Caverns, especially Mammoth, Wyandot, and Luray; together with Historical, Scientific, and Descriptive Notices of Caves and Grottoes in other Lands. Maps and illustrations. 8vo. 2 00

Hovey (Horace C). Illustrated Guide to Mammoth Cave. 8vo. Paper. 25

Howe (H.) Historical Collections of Ohio. Containing a Collection of the most Interesting Facts, Traditions, Biographical Sketches, Anecdotes, etc., relating to its Local and General History. 8vo. 6 00

Hubbard (Clara B.) Merry Songs and Games for the Use of the Kindergarten. 4to. 2 00

Hunt (W. E.) Historical Collections of Coshocton County, Ohio. 8vo. 3 00

Huston (R. G.) Journey in Honduras, and Jottings by the Way. Interoceanic Railway. 8vo. Paper. 50

Irwin (Will. T.) How to Play Progressive Euchre. Pocket size. 25

Jackson (John D., M.D.) The Black Arts in Medicine, with an Anniversary Address. Edited by Dr. L. S. McMurty. 12mo. 1 00

Jasper (T.) The Birds of North America. Colored Plates, drawn from Nature, with Descriptive and Scientific Letterpress. In 40 parts, $1.00 each; or, 2 vols., royal 4to., half morocco, $50.00; full morocco, 60 00

The Same. Popular portion only, with

the colored plates. 1 vol. Full morocco. 40 00

Jordan (D. M.) Rosemary Leaves. A Collection of Poems. 18mo. 1 50

Keller (M. J.) Elementary Perspective, Explained and Applied to Familiar Objects. Illustrated. 12mo. 1 00

Kentucky Geological Survey Publications. See pages 11 and 12.

King (John). A Commentary on the Law and True Construction of the Federal Constitution. 8vo. 2 50

Klippart (J. H.) The Principles and Practice of Land Drainage; a Brief History of Underdraining; a Detailed Examination of its Operation and Advantages; a Description of the Various Kinds of Drains, with Practical Directions for their Construction; the Manufacture of Drain Tile, etc. One hundred engravings. 12mo. Second edition. 1 75

Law (J.) Colonial History of Vincennes, Indiana, under the French, British, and American Governments. 12mo. 1 00

Lloyd (J. U.) The Chemistry of Medicines. Illustrated. 12mo. Cloth, $2.75; sheep, 3 25

Lloyd (J. U.) Pharmaceutical Preparations; Elixirs, their History, Formulæ, and Methods of Preparation. 12mo. 1 25

Lloyd (J. U. & C. G.) Drugs and Medicines of North America. A Quarterly, devoted to the Historical and Scientific Discussion of the Botany, Pharmacy, Chemistry, and Therapeutics of the Medical Plants of North America, their Constituents, Products, and Sophistications. Illustrated. Royal 8vo. Per annum. 1 00
Vol. 1. Cloth. 3 50

Longley (Elias). Eclectic Manual of Phonography. A Complete Guide to the Acquisition of Pitman's Phonetic Shorthand, with or without a Master. A new and carefully revised edition. 12mo. Stiff paper binding, 65c.; cloth, 75

Longley (Elias). The Reporter's Guide. Designed for Students in any Style of Phonography; in which are formulated, for the first time in any work of the kind, Rules for the Contraction of Words, Principles of Phrasing, and Methods of Abbreviation. Abundantly illustrated. 12mo. 2 00

Longley (Elias). American Phonographic Dictionary, exhibiting the correct and actual Shorthand Forms for all the Useful Words in the English language, about 50,000 in number, and, in addition, many Foreign Terms; also, for 2,000 Geograph cal names, and as many Family, P sonal, and noted Fictitious Nam 12mo. 2 5

Longley (Elias). Every Reporter's Own Shorthand Dictionary. The same as the above, but printed on writing paper, leaving out the Shorthand Forms, and giving blank lines opposite each word, for the purpose of enabling writers of any system of Shorthand to put upon record, for convenient reference, the peculiar word-forms they employ. 12mo. 2 50

Longley (Elias). Compend of Phonography, presenting a Table of all Alphabeti cal Combinations, Hooks, Circles, Loops, etc., at one view; also, Complete Lists of Word-signs and Contracted Word-forms, with Rules for Contracted Words for the use of Writers of all Styles of Phonogra phy. 12mo. Paper. 2

Longley (Elias). The Phonographic Reader and Writer, containing Reading Exer cises, with Translations on opposite pages, which form Writing Exercises. 12mo. 2

Longley (Elias). Writing Exercises. For gaining speed in Phonography, the Exer cises are printed continuous to the lines on which they are to be written, and a interspersed with Word-signs, Phras and Sentences, beginning with the fir lesson. 32 pages. Paper. 1

McBride (J.) Pioneer Biography; Sketches of the Lives of some of the Early Settlers of Butler County, Ohio. 2 vols. 8vo. $6.50. Large paper. Im 8vo. 13 0

McLaughlin (M. Louise). China Pai ing. A Practical Manual for the Use Amateurs in the Decoration of Hard P celain. Sq. 12mo. Boards.

McLaughlin (M. Louise). Pottery De ration: being a Practical Manual of U derglaize Painting. Sq. 12mo. Boards. 1

McLaughlin (M. Louise). Suggestions China Painters. Sq. 12mo. Boards. 1

MacLean (J. P.) The Mound Builders, and an Investigation into the Archæology of Butler County, Ohio. Illustrated. 12mo. 1

MacLean (J. P.) A Manual of the A tiquity of Man. Illustrated. 12mo. 1

MacLean (J. P.) Mastodon, Mamm Man. Illustrated. 12mo.

MacLean (J. P.) The Worship of the ciprocal Principles of Nature among Ancient Hebrews. 12mo. Paper.

Mansfield (E. D.) Personal Memories, Social, Political, and Literary. 1803–1843. 12mo. 2 00

Marshall Family (The); or, a Chronological Chart of the Descendants of John Marshall and Elizabeth Markham, his wife. Sketches of Individuals, and Notices of Families connected with them. By Wm. M. Paxton. Portrait. 8vo. 2 50
The Chart, separately, 50

May (Col. J.) Journal and Letters of, relative to Two Journeys to the Ohio Country, 1788 and 1789. 8vo. 2 00

Medical Questions Submitted to the Graduating Classes of the Medical College of Ohio, from 1871 to the present time. 8vo. Paper. 50

Mettenheimer (H. J.) Safety Book-keeping. Being a Complete Exposition of Book-keepers' Frauds—how Committed, how Discovered, how Prevented; with other suggestions of Value to Merchants and Book-keepers in the Management of Accounts. 18mo. Cloth. 1 00

Minor (T. C., M. D.) Athothis: A Satire on Modern Medicine. 12mo. 1 25

Minor (T. C., M. D.) Child-bed Fever, Erysipelas, and Puerperal Fever, with a Short Account of both Diseases. 8vo. 2 00

Minor (T. C., M. D.) Scarlatina Statistics of the United States. 8vo. Paper. 50

Morgan (Appleton). The Shakespearean Myth; or, William Shakespeare and Circumstantial Evidence. Second edition. 12mo. 2 00

Morgan (Appleton). Some Shakespearean Commentators. 12mo. Paper. 75

Mulertt (Hugo). The Goldfish, and its Systematic Culture with a View to Profit. 12mo. 1 00

Murdoch (James E.) The Stage; or, Recollections of Actors and Acting from an Experience of Fifty Years. A Series of Dramatic Sketches. 12mo. 2 00

Näf-Neff Family. A Chronicle, together with a little Romance regarding Rudolf and Jacob Näf, of Frankford, Pennsylvania, and their Descendants, including an Account of the Neffs in Switzerland and America. Coat of Arms, etc. By Elizabeth Clifford Neff. Small 4to. 4 00

Name and Address Book. A Blank Book, with Printed Headings and Alphabetical Marginal Index, for Recording the Names and Addresses of Professional, Commercial, and Family Correspondents. 8vo. 1 00

Nash (Simeon). Crime and the Family. 12mo. 1 25

Nerinckx (Rev. Charles). Life of, with Early Catholic Missions in Kentucky; the Society of Jesus; the Sisterhood of Loretto, etc. By Rt. Rev. C. P. Maes. 8vo. 2 50

Nichols (G. W.) The Cincinnati Organ, with a Brief Description of the Cincinnati Music Hall. 12mo. Paper. 25

Ohio Valley Historical Miscellanies. I. Memorandums of a Tour made by Josiah Espy, in the State of Ohio, and Kentucky, and Indian Territory, in 1805. II. Two Western Campaigns in the War of 1812–13. 1. Expedition of Capt. H. Brush, with Supplies for General Hull. 2. Expedition of Gov. Meigs, for the relief of Fort Meigs. By Samuel Williams. III. The Leatherwood God. An Account of the Appearance and Pretensions of J. C. Dylks in Eastern Ohio, in 1828. By R. H. Taneyhill. 1 vol. 8vo. $2.50. Large paper. 5 00

Osborn (Prof. H. S.) Ancient Egypt in the Light of Modern Discoveries. Illustrated. 12mo. 1 25

Paddack (J. R.) Tabular Book-keeping. A System of keeping Accounts by Tabulation, greatly simplifying the work and reducing the labor. 4to. 3 00

Park (Colonel Horace). Amateur Bycicle Repairing; or, Every Rider his own Repairer. 24mo. 25

Park (Colonel Horace). The Sportsman's Hand-Book of Field Sports, Camping, Hunting, and Fishing. 18mo. 1 00

Phisterer (Captain Frederick). The National Guardsman: On Guard and Kindred Duties. 24mo. Leather. 75

Physicians' Pocket Case Record Prescription Book. 35

Physician's General Ledger. Half Russia. 4 00

Piatt (John J.) Penciled Fly-Leaves. A Book of Essays in Town and Country. Sq. 16mo. 1 00

Piatt (John J.) At the Holy Well, with a Handful of New Verses. 12mo. 1 00

Piatt (S. M. B.) Child's-World Ballads. Three Little Emigrants: a Romance of Cork Harbour, 1884, etc. 12mo. $1.00; parchment. 1 25

Piatt (John J. and S. M. B.) The Children Out-of-Doors. A Book of Verse. By Two in One House. 16mo. 1 25

Poole (W. F.) Anti-Slavery Opinions before 1800. An Essay. 8vo. Paper, 75c.; cloth, 1 25

Prentice (George D.) Poems of, collected and edited, with Biographical Sketch, by John J. Piatt. 12mo. 2 00

Quick (R. H.) Essays on Educational Reformers. Schools of the Jesuits; Ascham, Montaigne, Ratish, Milton; Comenius; Locke; Rousseau's Emile; Basidow and the Philanthropin, etc. 12mo. 1 00

Ranck (G. W.) History of Lexington, Kentucky. Its Early Annals and Recent Progress, etc. 8vo. 4 00

Randal (Rev. D. A., D.D.) The Wonderful Tent; an Account of the Erection, Signification, and Spiritual Lessons of the Mosaic Tabernacle, erected in the Wilderness of Sinai. With a Biographical Sketch of the Author, and portrait. 12mo. 2 00

Reed (Samuel Rockwell). The Vicksburg Campaign, and the Battles about Chattanooga, under the Command of General U. S. Grant, in 1862–63. An Historical Review. 8vo. Cloth. 1 50

Reed (Samuel Rockwell). The War of 1886 between the United States and Great Britain. 12mo. Paper. 25

Reemelin (C.) The Wine-Makers' Manual. A Plain, Practical Guide to all the Operations for the Manufacture of Still and Sparkling Wines. 12mo. 1 25

Reemelin (C.) A Treatise on Politics as a Science. 8vo. 1 50

Reemelin (C.) A Critical Review of American Politics. 8vo. 3 50

Reemelin (C.) Historical Sketch of Green Township, Hamilton County, Ohio. 8vo. Paper. 25

Rives (Dr. E.) A Chart of the Physiological Arrangement of Cranial Nerves. Printed in large type, on a sheet 28 by 15 inches. Folded, in cloth case. 50

Robert (Karl). Charcoal Drawing without a Master. A Complete Treatise in Landscape Drawing in Charcoal, with Lessons and Studies after Allonge. Translated by E. H. Appleton. Illustrated. 8vo. 1 00

Roy (George). Generalship; or, How I Managed My Husband. A Tale. 18mo. Paper, 50c.; cloth, 1 00

Roy (George). The Art of Pleasing. A Lecture. 12mo. Paper. 25

Roy (George). The Old, Old Story. A Lecture. 12mo. Paper. 25

Royse (N. K.) Some Ancient Melodies and other Experiments. 12mo. 1 00

Russell (A. P.) Thomas Corwin. A Sketch. 16mo. 1 00

Russell (Wm.) Scientific Horseshoeing for the Different Diseases of the Foot. Illustrated. Second ed., 1887. 8vo. 3 00

St. Clair Papers. A Collection of the Correspondence and other Papers of General Arthur St. Clair, Governor of the Northwest Territory. Edited, with a Sketch of his Life and Public Services, by William Henry Smith. 2 vols. 8vo. 6 00

Sattler (Eric E.) The History of Tuberculosis from the time of Sylvius to the Present Day. Translated, in part, with additions, from the German of Dr. Arnold Spina, First Assistant in the Laboratory of Professor Stricker, of Vienna; including, also, Dr. Robert Koch's Experiments, and the more recent investigations of Dr. Spina on the Subject. 12mo. 1 2

Shaler (N. S.) On the Fossil Brachiopods of the Ohio Valley. With 8 heliotype plates. 4to. Paper. 2 50

Skinner (J. R.) The Source of Measures. A Key to the Hebrew-Egyptian Mystery in the Source of Measures, etc. 8vo. 5 00

Smith (Henry D. D.) Spinoza and his Environment, with a Translation of the Ethics. Portrait. 8vo. 3 00

Smith (Col. James). A Reprint of an Account of the Remarkable Occurrences in his Life and Travels, during his Captivity with the Indians in the years 1755, '56, '57, '58, and '59, etc. 8vo. $2.50; large paper, 5 00

Stanton (Henry T.) Jacob Brown and other Poems. 12mo. 1 50

Stanton (Henry T.) The Moneyless Man and other Poems. A new edition. 12mo. 1 50

Stevenson (R. F., Surgeon 22d Ky. Inf.) Letters from the Army, 1862–1864. 12mo. 1 00

Studer (J. H.) Columbus, Ohio: Its History, Resources, and Progress from its Settlement to the Present Time. 12mo. 2 00

Swan (E. B.) Once a Year; or, The Doctor's Puzzle. 16mo. 1 00

Taneyhill (R. H.) The Leatherwood God; an account of the Appearance and Pretensions of Joseph C. Dylks in Eastern Ohio, in 1826. 12mo. Paper. 30

Ten Brook (A.) American State Universities. Their Origin and Progress. A His tory of the Congressional University Land Grants. A particular account of the Rise and Development of the University of Michigan, and Hints toward the future of the American University System. 8vo. 2 00

Tilden (Louise W.) Karl and Gretchen's Christmas. Illustrated. Square 12mo. 75

Tilden (Louise W.) Poem, Hymn, and Mission Band Exercises. Written and arranged for the Use of Foreign Missionary Societies and Mission Bands. Square 12mo. 25

Trent (Capt. Wm.) Journal of, from Logstown to Pickawillany, in 1752. Edited by A. T. Goodman. 8vo. 2 50

Tripler (C. S., M. D.) and **Blackman (G. C., M. D.)** Handbook for the Military Surgeon. 12mo. 1 00

Tyler Davidson Fountain. History and Description of the Tyler Davidson Fountain, donated to the City of Cincinnati by Henry Probasco. 18mo. Paper. 25

Vago (A. L.) Instructions in the Art of Modeling in Clay. With an Appendix on Modeling in Foliage, etc., for Pottery and Agricultural Decorations, by Benn Pitman, of Cincinnati School of Design. Illustrated. Square 12mo. 1 00

Van Horne (T. B.) The History of the Army of the Cumberland; its Organization, Campaigns, and Battles. 2 vols. With Atlas of 22 maps, compiled by Edward Ruger. 8vo. Cloth, $6.00; sheep $8.00; half morocco, 10 00

Venable (W. H.) Melodies of the Heart, Songs of Freedom, and other Poems. 12mo. 1 50

Venable (W. H.) June on the Miami, and other Poems. Second edition. 12mo. 1 50

Vorhees (D. W.) Speeches of, embracing his most Prominent Forensic, Political, Occasional, and Literary Addresses. Compiled by his Son, C. S. Vorhees, with a Biographical Sketch and Portrait. 8vo. 5 00

Walker (C. M.) History of Athens County, Ohio, and Incidentally of the Ohio Land Company, and the First Settlement of the State at Marietta, etc. 8vo. $6.00. Large paper. 2 vols. $12.00. Popular edition. 4 00

Walton (G. E.) Hygiene and Education of Infants; or, How to take Care of Babies. 24mo. Paper. 25

Webb (F.) and **Johnston (M. C.)** An Improved Tally-Book for the Use of Lumber Dealers. 18mo. 50

Whittaker (J. T., M. D.) Physiology: Preliminary Lectures. Illus. 12mo. 1 75

Williams (A. D., M. D.) Diseases of the Ear, including Necessary Anatomy of the Organ. 8vo. 3 50

Young (A.) History of Wayne County, Indiana, from its First Settlement to the Present Time. 8vo. 2 00

Zeisberger. Diary of David Zeisberger, Moravian Missionary among the Indians of Ohio during the Years of 1781 to 1798. Translated from the Original Manuscript by Eugene F. Bliss. 2 vols. 8vo. 6 00

Zschokke (Heinrich). A Sylvester Night's Adventure. Translated by M. B. W. 12mo. 75

LAW TREATISES AND REPORTS.

Atkinson (F.) Township and Town Officer's Guide for the State of Indiana. 12mo. Net. Cloth, $2.00; sheep, 2 50

Barton (C.) History of a Suit in Equity. New edition, revised and enlarged, by Hon. H. H. Ingersoll. Net. 2 50

Bates (C.) Ohio Pleadings, Parties, and Forms under the Code. 2 vols. 8vo. Net. 12 00

Beebe (F. H.) and **Lincoln (A. W.)** Ohio Citations, Corrections of Errors in Citations and Table of Cases. 8vo. Net. 6 00

Bent (J. A.) Digest of the Decisions of the Court of Appeals of West Virginia (29 vols.), 1863–1887. Roy. 8vo. Net. 8 00

Best (Wm. M.) An Exposition of the Practice relative to the Right to Begin and Reply in Trials by Jury, and other Proceedings, Discussions of Law, etc. With Annotations by J. J. Crandall. 8vo. Net. 2 00

Bible in the Public Schools, Arguments in Favor and Against, with Decision of the Cincinnati Superior Court. 8vo. Cloth. 2 00

—— The Arguments in Favor of and Against. Separate. Paper. Each, 50

Bloom (S. S.) Popular Edition of the Laws of Ohio, in Force June, 1882. Net. Cloth, $3.00; sheep, 4 00

Bond (L. H.) Reports of Cases Decided in the Circuit and District Courts of the United States for the Southern District of Ohio. 2 vols. 8vo. 14 00

Brewer (A. T.) and **Laubscher (G. A.)** Ohio Coporations other than Municipal, as Authorized by the Former and Present Constitutions of the State and Regulated by Statute, with Notes of Decisions and a Complete Manual of Forms for Organizing and Managing all kinds of Companies and Associations. Second edition. 8vo. Net. 3 00

Carlton (A. B.) The Law of Homicide; together with the Celebrated Trial of Judge E. C. Wilkinson, Dr. B. R. Wilkinson, and J. Murdaugh, for the Murder of John Rothwell and A. H. Meeks, including the Indictments, the Evidence, and Speeches of Hon. S. S. Prentiss, Hon. Ben. Hardin, E. J. Bullock, Judge John Rowan, Col. Geo. Robertson, and John B. Thompson, of Counsel, in full. 8vo. Net. 2 50

Cincinnati Ordinances. The General Ordinances and Resolutions of the City of Cincinnati, in Force, April, 1887. Compiled under Athority and Direction of the City Council. By Frank M. Coppock, City Solicitor, and Fred. Hertenstein, of the Cincinnati Bar. 8vo. 924 pages. Net. 6 50

Cincinnati Superior Court Reporter. 2 vols. 8vo. Net. 10 00

See also Handy, Disney.

Constitutions of the United States and State of Ohio, with Amendments, Annotations and Indexes; also the Articles of Confederation, 1777, and Ordinances of 1787. Royal 8vo. Net. Paper, 50c.; half sheep, 1 00

Cox (R.) American Trade Mark Cases. A Compilation of all Reported Trade Mark Cases decided in the United States Courts prior to 1871. 8vo. 8 00

Curwen (M. E.) Manual of Abstracts of Title to Real Property. New edition by W. H. Whittaker. 12mo. Net. 2 00

Disney's Reports. Cincinnati Superior Court. 2 vols. 8vo. Net. 10 00

Fisher (S. S.) Reports of Patent Cases decided in the Circuit Courts of the United States, 1843–1873. 6 vols. 8vo. Vols. 4 to 6, each. Net. 25 00

Fisher (W. H.) Reports of Patent Cases decided in the Courts of the United States, 1827–1851. 6 00

Fisher (R. A.) Digest of English Patent Trade Mark and Copyright Cases. Edited by Henry Hooper. 8vo. 4 00

Fortesque (Sir John). De Laudibus Legum Angliæ. A Treatise in Commendation of the Laws of England. 8vo. Cloth. 2 00

Giauque (F.) Appendix to the Revised Statutes of Ohio. With Supplement for 1887. Royal 8vo. Net. 2 25

Giauque (F.) The Election Laws of the United States. Being a Compilation of all the Constitutional Provisions and Laws of the United States relating to Elections, the Elective Franchise, to Citizenship, and to the Naturalization of Aliens. With notes of Decisions affecting the same. 8vo. Paper, 75c.; cl. 1 00

Giauque (F.) Ohio Election Laws. 8vo. Paper, $1.00; cloth, 1 50

Giauque (F.) Manual for Road Supervisors in Ohio. 16mo. Boards. 25

Giauque (F.) Manual for Assignees and Insolvent Debtors in Ohio. Net. Cloth, $2.00; sheep, 2 50

Giauque (F.) Manual for Guardians in Ohio. Second edition, revised 1886. Net. Cloth, $2.00; sheep, 2 50

Giauque (F.) The Laws relating to Roads and Ditches, Bridges and Water-courses, in the State of Ohio. 8vo. Net. 5 00

Giauque (F.) and **McClure (H. B.)** Dower and Curtesy Tables, for ascertaining, on the Basis of the Carlisle Tables of Mortality, the Present Value of Vested and Contingent Rights of Dower and Curtesy, and of other Life Estates. 8vo. Net. 5 00

Gilmore (J. A.) Practice and Precedents in the Probate Courts of Ohio in Civil and Criminal Proceedings; with Forms, Notes of Decisions, and Practical Suggestions. 8vo. Net. 5 00

Handy's Reports. Cincinnati Superior Court. 2 vols. in 1. 8vo. Net. 5 00

Hanover (M. D.) A Practical Treatise on the Law relating to Horses. Second edition. 8vo. 4 00

Harris (S. F.) Principles of the Criminal Law. Edited by Hon. M. F. Force. 8vo. Second edition. Net. 4 00

Harper (J. C.) Inter-State Commerce Act. The Provisions of the Constitution as to the Regulation of Commerce. With Notes of Decisions and the Act of Congress to Regulate Commerce. Approved February 4, 1887. With References to Decisions under Analogous Statutes. 8vo. Half shp., net, $2.00; full shp., net, 2 50

Horr (N. T.) and **Bemis (A. A.)** A Treatise on the Power to Enact, Passage, Validity, and Enforcement of Municipal Police Ordinances, with Appendix of Forms and References to all the Decided Cases on the subject in the United States, England, and Canada. 8vo. Net. 4 00

Interrogatory Law. Over Six Hundred Law Questions, being a Complete Compilation of the Questions submitted to the Graduating Classes of the Cincinnati Law School, from 1879 to the Present Time. 8vo. Paper. Net. 50

Johnston (Wm., Late Judge Superior Court of Cincinnati). Arguments to Courts and Juries. 8vo. Cloth. Net. 3 00

Kentucky Reports. Reports of Cases decided in the Court of Appeals of Kentucky. 1785–1885. 82 vols. in 67.

King (J.) A Commentary on the Law and True Construction of the Federal Constitution. 8vo. 2 50

McDonald (D.) Treatise on the Law relating to the Powers and Duties of Justices and Constables in Indiana. Edited by L. O. Schroeder. 8vo. Net. 6 00

Matthews (Stanley). A Summary of the Law of Partnership. For Use of Business Men. 12mo. Cloth, $1.25; sheep, 1 50

McLean (J.) Reports of Cases decided in the Circuit Court of the United States for the Seventh District. 1829–1855. 6 vols. 8vo. Vols. 2, 4, 5, 6. Each. 6 50

Montesquieu (Baron De). The Spirit of Laws. Translated from the French by Thomas Nugent. New edition, with Memoir. 2 vols. 8vo. Cloth. 4 00

Morgan (J. A.) An English Version of Maxims, with the Original Forms, alphabetically arranged, and an Index of Subjects. Second edition. 12mo. Cloth. 2 00

Nash (S.) Pleading and Practice under the Codes of Ohio, New York, Kansas, and Nebraska. Fourth edition. 2 vols. 8vo. 10 00

Ohio Digest. Digest of the Decisions in all Ohio Courts to 1882. By J. B. Walker and C. Bates. 3 vols. Roy. 8vo. Net. 17 00

Vol. 3, 1874–82. By C. Bates. Roy. 8vo. Separately. Net. 5 00

Ohio and Ohio State Reports. Reports of Cases decided in the Supreme Court of Ohio. 1821–1886. 64 vols. Net. 152 50

THE SAME. Special edition. 64 vols. in 32. Net. 64 00

Ohio Statutes. Embracing:

Curwen's Statutes at Large, 1833–1860. 4 vols. 8vo. Net. 20 00

Swan and Critchfield's Revised Statutes, 1860. 2 vols. 8vo. Net. 5 00

Sayler's Statutes at Large, 1860–1875. 4 vols. 8vo. 20 00

Ohio Statute Slips. Showing the Changes in the Revised Statutes of Ohio since the Authorized Codification in 1880. Prepared by Florien Giauque. Sets of slips covering Ohio Laws, Vols. 77, 78, 79, 80, 81, 82, 83, and 84. [*To be continued annually.*] Eight now ready. Each set, 25

Peck (H. D.) The Law of Municipal Corporations in the State of Ohio. Second edition. 8vo. Net. 5 00

Peck (H. D.) The Township Officers Guide of Ohio. Fourth edition. Net. Cloth, $2.00; sheep, 2 50

Pollock (F.) Principles of Contract at Law and in Equity. Edited by G. H. Wald. Second edition. 8vo Net. 6 00

Raff (G.W.) Guide to Executors and Administrators in the State of Ohio. Sixth edition. Edited and enlarged by F. Glauque. 12mo. Cloth, $2.00; sheep, 2 50

Raff (G.W.) Manual of Pensions, Bounty, and Pay. 1789–1863. 12mo. 2 00

Raff (G. W.) War Claimant's Guide. Laws relating to Pensions, Bounty, etc. War of 1861–1865. 8vo. 4 00

Reinhard (G. L.) The Criminal Laws of the State of Indiana, with Precedents, Forms for Writs, Docket Entries, etc. 8vo. 2 50

Saint Germain (C.) The Doctor and Student; or, Dialogues between a Doctor of Divinity and a Student in the Laws of England, containing the grounds of those Laws. Revised and corrected. 8vo. Cloth. 2 00

Saunders (T.W.) A Treatise upon the Law of Negligence. With Notes of American Cases. 8vo. 2 50

Sayler (J. R.) American Form Book: a Collection of Legal and Business Forms for Professional and Business Men. Second edition. Revised, 1886. 8vo. Cloth. Net. 2 00

Stanton (R. H.) A New Digest of the Kentucky Decisions; embracing all Cases decided by the Appellate Courts from 1875 to 1877. Second edition. 2 vols. 8vo. Net. 6 00

Stanton (R. H.) A Practical Treatise of the Law relating to Justices of the Peace, etc., in Kentucky. Third edition. 8vo. 7 50

Stanton (R. H.) Manual for the Use of Executors, Administrators, Guardians, etc., in Kentucky. Second edition. 12mo. 1 75

Swan (J. R.) Pleadings and Precedents under the Code of Ohio. 8vo. 6 00

Swan (J. R.) Treatise on the Law relating to the Powers and Duties of Justices of the Peace, etc., in the State of Ohio. Thirteenth edition. 8vo. Net. 6 00

Swan (J. R. (and Plumb (P. B.) Treatise on the Law relating to the Powers and Duties of Justices, etc., in Kansas. 8vo. 5 00

Warren (M.) Criminal Law and Forms. Third edition. 8vo. 5 00

Welch (John). Ohio Index-Digest of all the Cases decided in the Courts of Ohio. (Contained in 105 vols.) 8vo. 1887. Net. 6 00

Wells (J. C.) Treatise on the Separate Property of Married Women, under the recent Enabling Acts. Second edition. 8vo. 6 00

Wells (J. C.) A Manual of the Laws relating to County Commissioners in the State of Ohio, with carefully prepared Forms and References to the Decisions of the Supreme Court. Net. 3 50

Wild (E. H.) Journal Entries under the Code of Civil and Criminal Procedure. With Notes of Decisions. Third edition. 8vo. 4 00

Wilcox (J. A.) The General Railroad Laws of the State of Ohio, in force January, 1874. 8vo. 5 00

Wilson (M. F.) The New Criminal Code of Ohio. With Forms and Precedents, Digest of Decisions, etc. Second edition. 8vo. Net. 5 00

Works (John D.) Indiana Practice, Pleadings, and Forms. Second edition. 3 vols. 8vo. 1887. Net. 18 00

Works (John D.) Removal of Causes from State Courts to Federal Courts, embracing the Act of Congress passed March 3, 1887, with Forms and References to Decisions. 8vo. 1 00

Wright (J. C.) Reports of Cases at Law and in Chancery, decided in the Courts of Ohio during the Years 1831–1834. New edition, with Notes. 8vo. Net. 5 00

Yaple (Alfred). Code Practice and Precedents. Embracing all Actions and Special Proceedings under the Civil Code of Ohio, and applicable to the Practice in all the Code States having a similar Code System. 2 vols. 8vo. 1887. Net. 12 00

ROBERT CLARKE & CO., CINCINNATI, O

Authorized Agents for the Sale of the Publications of the

NEW GEOLOGICAL SURVEY OF KENTUCKY

N. S. SHALER, DIRECTOR, SUCCEEDED BY J. R. PROCTER

Reports, Royal 8vo—

Reports of Progress. Vol. 1. Sections and plates. Royal 8vo. cloth. 1876. 4 00

The same. Vol. 3. Maps and sections. Royal 8vo. cloth. 1877. 3 00

The same. Vol. 5. Royal 8vo. cloth. 1880. 3 00

(Volumes 2 and 4 are out of print.)

A. Peter (Robert). Chemical Analysis. Vol. 1, being the first, second, and third Chemical Reports and Chemical Analyses of the Hemp and Buckwheat Plants. Royal 8vo. cloth. 1884. 2 00

A.² *The same.* Vol 2 being the fourth, fifth, and sixth Chemical Reports, and Comparative Views of the Composition of Soils, Coals, Ores, Limestones, Clays, Marls, Mineral Waters, etc. Royal 8vo. cloth. 1885. 2 00

B. Timbers and Botany, comprising Seven Reports on the Forests and Botany of Different Parts of the State. Royal 8vo. cloth. 1884. 1 50

C. Eastern Coal Field. Comprising Eight Reports on the Resources of some of the counties located in the Eastern Coal Field. Maps and sections. Royal 8vo. cloth. 1884. 2 00

D. Western Coal Field, comprising Six Reports on the Resources of some of the counties located in the Western Coal Field. 8vo. cloth. 1884. 2 00

Memoirs, 4to—

Carr (Lucien). The Mounds of the Mississippi Valley Historically Considered. pp. 107, paper. 1 50

Carr (Lucien) and Shaler (N. S.) On the Prehistoric Remains of Kentucky. 7 Heliotype plates, containing 52 specimens. pp. 31, paper. 2 50

Davis (William J.) Kentucky Fossil Corals. A Monograph of the Polypi of the Silurian and Devonian Formations. Illustrated with 139 Artotype plates, containing 900 specimens representing 41 genera and 310 species, of which 7 genera and 168 species are new and hitherto undescribed, with a Glossary of Technical Terms. Part 1, Text, over 700 pages, nearly ready. Part 2, plates, with Classified Index, ready. 2 volumes. 25 00

Garman (Samuel). On the Reptiles and Batrachians of North America. Introduction, pp. 31, and Part 1 Ophidia-Serpents, with Index. 9 plates. pp. 185, paper. 4 00

Shaler (N. S.) On the Fossil Brachiapoda of the Ohio Valley. 7 Albertype plates of 202 specimens. pp. 44, paper. 2 50

Reports in Pamphlet Form—

Beckham (C. W.) List of the Birds of Nelson County. Royal 8vo. pp. 58. 1885. 50

Bulletin No. 1. Containing Notes on Petroleum; Improvement of the Rivers of Kentucky; Improvement of the Kentucky River; Iron Ores and Coals of Western Kentucky; Yellow Fever at Hickman. 2 plates. 8vo. pp. 99. 25

Caldwell (Wm. B. Jr.) Report on the Limonite Ores of Trigg, Lyon, and Caldwell Counties, known as the "Cumberland River Ores." Royal 8vo. pp. 13. 25

Crandall (A. R.) Report on the Chinn's Branch Cannel Coal District. Map. Royal 8vo. pp. 10. (V. 5.) 15

Crandall (A. R.) Report on the Geology of Elliott County. With Notes on the Trap Dykes of Elliott County. By A. R. Crandall and J. S. Diller. 4 plates, 3 maps, and 1 section. Royal 8vo. pp. 28. 65

Crandall (A. R.) Report on the Geology of Menifee County. 4 sections. Royal 8vo. pp. 15. (V. 4.) 20

De Friese (L. H.) Report on a Belt of Kentucky Timbers, extending East and West along the South-Central part of the State, from Columbus to Pound Gap. Royal 8vo. pp. 62. (V. 5.) 25

DeFriese (L. H.) Report on the Timbers of Grayson, Breckenridge, Ohio, and Hancock Counties. Royal 8vo. pp. 20. (V. 2.) 15

DeFriese (L. H.) Report on the Timbers of the North Cumberland. Bell and Harlan Counties. Royal 8vo. pp. 24. (V. 4.) 15

Hussey (John). Report on the Botany of Barren and Edmondson Counties, with an Introduction by N. S. Shaler. Royal 8vo. pp. 32. (V. 1.) 15

Knott (W. T.) Report on the Geology of Marion County. Colored map. Royal 8vo. pp. 43, paper. 1885. 50

Linney (W. M.) Notes on the Rocks of Central Kentucky, with list of Fossils. Royal 8vo. pp 19. 1882. 25

Linney (W. M.) Report on the Botany of Madison, Lincoln, Garrard, Washington,

and Marion Counties. Royal 8vo. pp. 57. 1882. 25

Linney (W. M.) Report on the Geology of Clark and Montgomery Counties. Colored map. Royal 8vo. pp. 76. 1884. 60

Linney (W. M.) Report on the Geology of Garrard County. Colored map. Royal 8vo. pp. 32. 1882. 50

Linney (W. M.) Report on the Geology of Lincoln County. Colored map. Royal 8vo. pp. 37. 1882. 50

Linney (W. M.) Report on the Geology of Mercer County. Colored map. Royal 8vo. pp. 29. 1882. 50

Linney (W. M.) Report on the Geology of Spencer and Nelson Counties, including Notes on the Birds of Nelson County by C. W. Beckham. Colored map. Royal 8vo. pp. 59+58, paper. 1885. 75

Linney (W. M.) Report on the Geology of Washington County. Colored map. Royal 8vo. pp. 24. 1882. 50

Linney (W. M.) Report on the Timbers of Boyle and Mercer Counties. Royal 8vo. pp. 36. (V. 5.) 15

Moore (P. N.) Report on Coal. Washing, for the Separation of Coal from its Impurities. 7 plates. Roy. 8vo. pp. 40. (V. 6.) 35

Moore (P. N.) Report on the Geology of a Section from near Compton, Wolfe County, to the Mouth of Troublesome Creek, Breathitt County. Folded section. Royal 8vo. pp. 30. (V. 4.) 25

Moore (P. N.) Report on the Iron Ore in the Vicinity of Cumberland Gap Section. Royal 8vo. pp. 14. (V. 4.) 20

Norwood (C. J.) Report of a Reconnoissance of a part of the Breckenridge Cannel Coal District. Royal 8vo. pp. 26. (V. 4.) 15

Peter (Robert). Chemical Report of the Soils, Coals, Ores, Iron Furnace Products, Clays, Marls, Mineral Waters, Rocks, etc., of Kentucky. 1 Heliotype. Royal 8vo. pp. 91. (V. 5.) 40

Peter (Robert). Comparative Views of the Composition of the Soils, Limestones, Clays, Marls, etc., of the Several Geological Formations of Kentucky, as shown by their Chemical Analyses, with Remarks on their Characters and Practical Uses. Royal 8vo. pp. 62. 1883. 40

Procter (J. R.) The Climate, Soils, Timbers, etc., of Kentucky, contrasted with those of the North-west. 8vo. pp. 29. 1881. 10

Procter (J. R.) Report of the Progress of the Survey from January, 1882, to January, 1884. 8vo. pp. 42. 1884. 25

The same. From January, 1884, to January, 1886. 8vo. pp. 20. 1886. 25

Procter (J. R.) Resources of the North Cumberland Valley, comprising part of Whitley, Knox, Bell, *Harlan*, and Letche Counties. 3 maps. Roy. 8vo. pp. 24. (V. 6.) 50

Procter (J. R.) The South-eastern Ken tucky Coal Fields, including A. R. Crandall's Report on the Pound Gap Region, and J. H. Hodge's Report on the Geology of parts of Letcher, Harlan, Leslie, Perry, Breathitt, and Knott Counties, with a map of the South-eastern Coal Fields, and map showing the Relation of the Transportatio Routes and Iron Ores of the South Appala chian Region, and a map showing the Di tribution of Iron Ores in the United State by Raphael Pumpelly. 12 plates, views 20 plates of sections. Royal 8vo. 1887. 1 0

Schenck (C.) On the use of the Tele meter in Topographical Surveys. Roya 8vo. pp. 19. (V. 5.)

Shaler (N. S.) A General Account o the Commonwealth of Kentucky. Colore map. Royal 8vo. pp. 99. (V. 2.)

Wayman (James). Impressions of Ke tucky by an English Editor. 8vo. pp. 1883.

Maps.—Topography by J. B. Hoeing—

Preliminary County Map of Kentucky. Colored. 13¾x25½.

Preliminary Map of South-eastern Ke tucky. 20x21.

Preliminary Geological Map of Ke tucky. Colored. 13¾x25½.

County Maps—All Colored.—Topography by B. Hoeing—

Bath and Fleming. 20x23. Geology W. M. Linney.

Boyd, Carter, and Greenup. 23x23. G ology by A. R. Crandall.

Boyle and Mercer. 15x19½. Geology W. M. Linney and J. H. Fales.

Clinton. 13x15. Geology by R. Loughridge.

Garrard. 15x16½. Geology by W. Linney.

Jackson Purchase, Ballard, McCrack Marshall, Graves, Calloway, Hickman, Fulton Counties. 31x44. Geology by H. Loughridge.

Jackson Purchase. Agricultural M 13x26. By R. H. Loughridge.

Lincoln. 15x16½. Geology by W. Linney.

Madison. 15x16½. Geology by J. Procter.

Mason. 12x14. Geology by W. Linney.

Montgomery and Clarke. 18x21. ology by W. M. Linney.

Washington and Marion. 17½x21½. ology by W. M. Linney and W. Knott.